

THE
EASTERN ORIGIN
OF THE
CELTIC NATIONS

PROVED BY A COMPARISON OF
THEIR DIALECTS
WITH THE
SANSKRIT, GREEK, LATIN, AND TEUTONIC
LANGUAGES
FORMING A SUPPLEMENT TO RESEARCHES INTO THE PHYSICAL
HISTORY OF MANKIND

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F R

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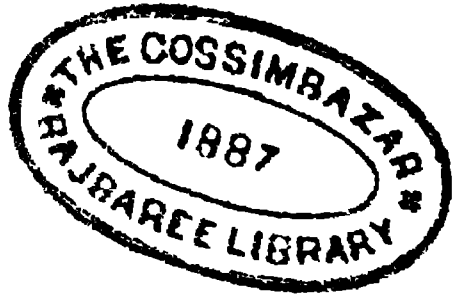
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TO

THE REV FRENCH

WILLIAM DANIEL CONYBEARE, A.M., F.R.S., ETC.,

RECTOR OF STUDY,

AND TO

PROFESSOR JACOB GRIMM,

THE UNIVERSITY OF GOETTINGEN,

THIS ~~WORK~~ IS INSCRIBED,

IN TESTIMONY OF

THE HIGH RESPECT AND REGARD

OF

THE AUTHOR

EDITOR'S PREFACE.

WHEN the publisher of the present edition, after stating the extent to which Dr Prichard's *Eastern Origin of the Celtic Nations* was a work which still kept up the interest and importance which it had at the time of its publication, added the request that I would undertake the Editorship of a reprint, the first question I asked was, why he had preferred an investigator in general ethnology and philology to a special Keltic scholar, either Welsh or Irish, remarking, at the same time, that there were many to be found who were, doubtless, both able and willing to undertake the required editorship? Even if these were wanting, Sanskrit scholars, familiar with comparative philology, would be fitter editors than myself, these being, at least, as abundant as the others, and the Sanskrit language being, in the book itself, of equal prominence and importance with the Keltic

His answer was that this had been already considered, but that the decidedly ethnological character of the work had convinced him that a minute criticism of its details was less wanted than a broad view of its principles, and leading statements; and that an investigator, who was neither Kelt nor Sanskrit, but general, was more likely to do justice to the work than a special scholar.

I thought then, as I think now, that this view was sound, and undertook the responsibility of editing one of the most important contributions ever made to philological ethnography. A great deal of the Supplementary Chapter (pp 65—159) was already written, the criticism of the so-called Keltic migrations having long been a matter upon which I had employed myself, indeed, the publication of all the notices of ancient writers upon the ancient Kelts, with a body of ethnological notes, after the manner of my edition of the *Germania* of Tacitus, had, for some years, been contemplated by me.

Again, the volume of Prichard is not merely an exposition of the reasons which induced the Author to make the Keltic tongues Indo-European, but a general explanation of the meaning of that term, founded upon a remarkably clear exposition of the

nature and relations of the languages which constitute the group. It is more than this. It is an excellent introduction to ethnology in general; inferior to no work on the same subject except Dr. Prichard's own larger ones. Over these even it has the advantage of brevity and conciseness.

But that heavy objections (in the mind, at least, of the editor) lie against the ordinary doctrine suggested by the term Indo-European, may be seen in almost every page of the annotations. They lie, however, less against the work under notice than against current opinion in general. It is possible that this may be correct, and, if so, my own views are exceptionable. I do not say that they are not so. I only say that, if the current views concerning what is called the Eastern origin of the so-called Indo-Europeans are correct, they are so by accident, for they rest upon an amount of assumption far greater than what the nature of the question either requires or allows.

It only remains to be added, that this edition of Dr. Prichard's 'Eastern Origin of the Celtic Nations,' is published with the special sanction of the proprietors of the copyright.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE treatise now laid before the public forms a Supplement to my *Researches into the Physical History of Mankind*, and was announced in the first edition of that work, which was printed in 1813. Of the motives which induced me so long to withhold it, and of those which have at length determined me to the publication, a sufficient account will be found in the Introduction, and I have only a few words to premise on the circumstances and designation under which the work now appears.

It is termed, a Supplement to *Researches into the Physical History of Mankind*, because it was undertaken with the view of furnishing proofs of a series of facts, of which little more could be introduced into that work than general statements, containing the results of inquiries which had been sufficient for my own conviction. It forms, however, a distinct treatise, in exclusion of its reference

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INTRODUCTION.

SECTION I.

Different opinions respecting the population of the world—Autochthones—Hypothesis of the ancients—Modern opinion—Way of investigating the subject—Physical evidence—Comparison of languages—How far this inquiry has tended to elucidate the history of nations—General relations and value of philological inquiries

MANY writers on natural history and geography have maintained the opinion that each particular region of the earth must have been supplied from the beginning, by a separate and distinct creation, with its peculiar stock of indigenous or native inhabitants. Among the ancients this notion prevailed almost universally. There existed, indeed, in the pagan world an obscure tradition of a primitive pantheon fashioned out of clay by the hand of Prometheus or of Jupiter, but this belonged to mythology, which, in its literal sense, at least, was of little authority with the best informed, and the frequent occurrence of such terms as *autochthones*, *indigenæ*, or *aboriginal inhabitants*, whenever reference is made to the population of different countries, indicates a general prevalence of the ideas which such expressions are fitted to suggest. The prevailing opinion in modern times has referred all the nations of the earth to a

common parentage; and this it has done chiefly, as it would appear, on the authority of our Sacred History, the testimony of which seems hardly to be reconciled with a different hypothesis. Of late, however, many learned men, chiefly on the continent, have been strongly inclined to adopt an opinion similar to that of the ancients; and this seems now to be gaining proselytes among the French naturalists and physiologists, and among writers on history and antiquities in Germany. Some of the former speak of the Adamic race as of one among many distinct tribes. Von Humboldt, who has collected so many evidences of intercourse between the inhabitants of the eastern and western continents, yet seems to have regarded the primitive population of America as a distinct and peculiar stock. The celebrated geographer Malte Brun has plainly taken it for granted that each part of the earth had indigenous inhabitants from the earliest times, into whose origin it is vain to make inquiries; and even the accomplished Niebuhr, who is not more distinguished by the great extent of his learning than by the novelty and ingenuity of his critical speculations, has adopted a similar opinion in connexion with his researches into the early history of Italy.^a

It would be no difficult matter to cite names of equal celebrity on the other side of this question,^b

^a *Römische Geschichte* von B. G. Niebuhr. Venedig, p. 38 (1. Ausgabe).

^b Sir W. Jones.

but it is not by the authority of opinions that it can ever be decided. The most learned men, and those of the most profound research, are equally liable with ordinary individuals to adopt erroneous notions on subjects which lie beyond a particular sphere, they are perhaps even more disposed to prejudices of certain kinds. It is only by examining the evidence which may be drawn from a variety of different sources, that those persons who feel interested in this inquiry can hope to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion.

Perhaps those arguments which bear with the greatest weight upon this question, and on which the ultimate opinion of philosophers respecting it is to be determined, are considerations resulting from a survey of the natural history of the globe, and facts connected with physical geography, and with the multiplication and dispersion of species both of animals and plants. On the evidence which is to be deduced from these sources, I shall say nothing at present. I have endeavoured to take a comprehensive view of the whole of this subject in my *Researches into the Physical History of Mankind*.

Among the investigations which belong exclusively to the history of our own species, an analysis of languages, affording the means of comparing their component materials and ascertaining their affinities and diversities, is one of the most important.

It must be a matter of regret to those who are aware of the real value of this resource, that it has

been applied with so little judgment, and that many writers who have devoted themselves to the study of what is termed *philology* have mixed up so much that is extravagant and chimerical with the results of their researches, as not only to throw a shade of doubt and uncertainty over them, but even to bring ridicule and contempt upon the pursuits in which they have been engaged. A fondness for wild conjecture and for building up systems upon the most inadequate and precarious foundations has been supposed to belong to the whole class of writers on the history and affinities of languages, and it has certainly prevailed in no ordinary degree among them. Even some of the latest works on these subjects, though abounding with curious and valuable information, are in a particular manner liable to this censure. The treatise of Professor Murray on the European languages, though it displays extensive knowledge and diligent research, is scarcely mentioned without ridicule; and in the *Asia Polyglotta* of M. Julius Klaproth, which has added very considerably to our acquaintance with the dialects and genealogy of the Asiatic races, we find the results of accurate investigation mixed up and blended with too much that is uncertain and hypothetical. It must, however, be allowed, that there are not a few writers, in both earlier and later times, who are scarcely, if in any degree, chargeable with the same faults, and whose acuteness and soundness of discernment are equal to their extensive and profound

erudition. This may be truly said of Vossius and Edward Lhuyd among the philologists of former ages, and in more recent times of Professor Vater, the Schlegels, Bopp, and Professor Jacob Grimm.

The comparison of languages is perhaps incapable of affording all the results which some persons have anticipated from it. It would be too much to expect from this quarter to demonstrate the unity of race, or an original sameness of idiom in the whole human species. But this resource, if properly applied, will furnish great and indispensable assistance in many particular inquiries relating to the history and affinity of nations.

It would be easy to point out instances in which the examination of languages has rendered substantial and undoubted services to the historian. The history of the Goths, who conquered the Roman empire, will furnish an example. The real origin of this people could not have been known with certainty, if we had not come into possession of an ample specimen of their language in the version of Ulfilas. By this we learn that they were not Getæ or Thracians, as most of the writers who lived near to the era of the Gothic invasion supposed them to be, and as some modern historians have maintained, but, in conformity with their own traditions, nearly allied in kindred to the northern tribes of the German family.⁽¹⁾

The origin of the Polynesian races has been illustrated by an investigation in one respect similar.

Some of these tribes are found in islands so distant from all other inhabited regions, as to furnish an argument in favour of the opinion, that they had the beginning of their existence in their present abodes. But a comparison of their languages has furnished proof that all the most remote insular nations of the Great Ocean derived their origin from the same quarter, and are nearly related to some tribes of people inhabiting a part of the Indian continent and the isles of the Indian archipelago ⁽²⁾

Even the history of the African ⁽³⁾ and American ⁽⁴⁾ tribes has been in many particulars elucidated by an inquiry into the relations of their languages, though the results which have been obtained have not proved to be precisely those which were hypothetically anticipated, and with hope of arriving at which these researches were in part undertaken.

Philologists have sought in vain in the old continent for a nation, from whose speech the diversified idioms of America may with any degree of probability be derived; but an examination of the American languages themselves has led to some interesting results. The native races of North America are referred by a classification of their dialects to a few great divisions, several of which extend as radii issuing from a common centre in the north-western part of the continent, where it is divided from Asia by Behning's Strait. The traditions prevalent among the ancient Mexicans seem to have derived credit from the discovery of a chain

of nations extending almost from New Mexico to Mount St. Elias, in the neighbourhood of the Esquimaux Tschugazzi; their languages, particularly those of the Ugalyachmutzi and Koluschians, bearing a curious analogy to that of the Aztecs and Tlaxcallans Another series of nations, the Karalit, or Esquimaux, connected by affinities of dialect, has been traced from the settlements of the Tschuktschu in Asia, along the polar zone to Acadia and Greenland Light has also been thrown in a similar manner on the history of the Lenni Lenape, and the great kindred family of Algonquin nations, on that of the Hoquois, and likewise of the Floridian and other races of North America, by a comparison of their national traditions with the indications discovered in their dialects One circumstance, which is perhaps of more importance than all the preceding, is the singular congruity in structure between all the American languages, from the northern to the southern extremity of the continent. To this I only allude at present, having already in another place surveyed the facts on which the observation is founded, as they have been developed by the researches of Barton, Heivas, Von Humboldt, Hecke-welder, and Duponceau. In Africa a remarkable and interesting fact was the discovery of a nation occupying nearly the whole northern region of that continent, to which the Kabyles of Mauritania and the Tuarik of the Great Desert belong, and whose branches extend from the Oasis of Siwah on the

eastern, to the mountains of Atlas, and even to the Canary islands, on the western side; the Guanches, the old inhabitants of those islands, whose remains are said to lie embalmed in the mummy caves of Teneriffe, spoke, as it appears, a dialect of the same language as the Kabyles and Berbers. The Felatahs, who have spread themselves over the interior countries of Nigritia, have been traced by a similar investigation to the mountainous districts above the Senegal, where the Foulahs, who speak the same language, have been long known to Europeans as a people in many respects distinguishable from the Negroes. To the southward of the equator a connexion still more extended has been discovered among the native tribes across the whole of the same continent from Caffiana and the Mosambique coast, on the Indian ocean, to the countries which border on the Atlantic, and form a part of the region termed the empire of Congo.

I have thus pointed out some of the most striking instances, well known to those who have made philological subjects their pursuit, in which researches of this kind have thrown some light on the origin and affinities of nations, when all other historical resources have failed. I shall presently consider the application of this inquiry to the European nations, as this is my principal object in the present work. It is requisite, however, before I proceed so far, to make some general remarks on the evidence

which languages appear to furnish in proof of the affinity of nations.

The use of languages really cognate must be allowed to furnish a proof, or at least a strong presumption, of kindred race. Exceptions may indeed, under very peculiar circumstances, occur to the inference founded on this ground. For example, the French language is likely to be the permanent idiom of the negro people of St. Domingo, though the latter are principally of African descent. Slaves imported from various districts in Africa, having no common idiom, have adopted that of their masters. But conquest, or even captivity, under different circumstances, has scarcely ever exterminated the native idiom of any people, unless after many ages of subjection, and even then vestiges have perhaps always remained of its existence. In Britain the native idiom was nowhere superseded by the Roman, though the island was held in subjection upwards of three centuries. In Spain and in Gaul several centuries of Latin domination, and fifteen under German and other modern dynasties, have proved insufficient entirely to obliterate the ancient dialects, which were spoken by the native people before the Roman conquest.* Even the Gypsies, who have wandered in small companies over Europe for some ages, still preserve their original language in a form that can be everywhere recognised.

* Without adverting to the Bas Breton, the Basque in Aquitaine and the Basque in Spain afford proofs of the fact above asserted.

But the question is here naturally suggested, what degrees and species of resemblance must be considered as indicating any given languages to be cognate, or as constituting their affinity? In adverting to this inquiry I shall be allowed to repeat some remarks which I have made on a former occasion.

A comparison of various languages displays four different relations between them.

1. In comparing some languages we discover little or no analogy in their grammatical structure, but we trace, nevertheless, a resemblance more or less extensive in their vocabularies, or in the terms for particular objects, actions, and relations. If this correspondence is the result of commercial intercourse, or conquest, or the introduction of a new system of religion, literature, and manners, it will extend only to such words as belong to the new stock of ideas thus introduced, and will leave unaffected the great proportion of terms which are expressive of more simple ideas and universal objects. Of the description now alluded to is the influence which the Arabic has exerted upon the idioms of the Persians and the Turks, and the Latin upon some of the dialects of Europe. But if the correspondence traced in the vocabularies of any two languages is so extensive as to involve words of the most simple and apparently primitive class, it obviously indicates a much more ancient and intimate connexion. There may be instances in which

this sort of affinity is so near as to render it probable, that the dialects thus connected had a common origin, and owe the diversities of their grammatical forms to subsequent changes and difference of culture

2 There are certain languages which have very few words in common, and which yet display, when carefully examined, a remarkable analogy in their laws of grammatical construction.

The most striking instances of this relation are the *polysynthetic* idioms, as they are denominated by M Duponceau, of the American tribes, and the monosyllabic languages of the Chinese and Indo-Chinese nations

3. A third relation is discovered between languages which are shewn to be connected by both of the circumstances already pointed out. These are the languages which I venture to term *cognate*. The epithet is applied to all those dialects which are connected by analogy in grammatical forms, and by a considerable number of primitive words or roots common to all, or in all resembling, and manifestly of the same origin.

4. A fourth relation exists between languages in which neither of the connecting characters above described can be discerned. when there is neither analogy of grammatical structure, nor any correspondence in words sufficient to indicate a particular affinity. Such languages are not of the same family, and they generally belong to nations remote from

each other in descent, and often in physical characters ⁽⁵⁾ But even among languages thus discovered, a few common or resembling words may often be found. These resemblances are sometimes casual, or the result of mere accident: in other instances they are perhaps too striking and too numerous to be ascribed to chance or coincidence. Such are the phenomena of connexion which M. Klaproth hypothetically terms *antediluvian*, and those which Mr Sharon Turner has lately pointed out between the idioms of nations very remote from each other. More strongly marked are the traces of approximation observed by Professors Barton and Vater between the vocabularies of tribes in North and even in South America, and the dialects of the Samoides, Yukagers, and other races in North-eastern Asia. Such facts are sometimes difficult of explanation, in other instances they may lead to interesting results. Whatever may be thought of them, the variety of languages, nearly or wholly unconnected, is on a general survey so great, that it seems difficult to avoid being led to one of two conclusions either that there existed from the beginning divers idioms, or that the languages of mankind were rendered various by a miraculous change, according to the most obvious import of a well known passage in the book of Genesis. It would be foreign to my present design to consider these opinions more fully, and I shall pass them by with a single

remark on each. The former, besides other objections, involves one which has scarcely been adverted to. It implies that the world contained from the beginning, not three or four, as some writers are willing to believe, but some hundreds and perhaps thousands of different human races.¹ With respect to the latter, it seems incumbent on those who reject this passage of Sacred History on the ground of its making a reference to a supernatural, and, as it may be termed, an unknown agency, to furnish us with some account of the first existence of our species which does not imply events, at least equally miraculous. Unless the events which certainly took place can be understood in a different way from that in which the Sacred Scriptures represent them, we may rationally adhere to the whole of the same testimony, as involving the operation of no other causes, than such as are both proved and are sufficient to account for the phenomena.

In the inquiry on which I have now to enter, I must confine my view within a narrower sphere, and advert to the relations of languages which, though displaying great variety in their vocabulary,

¹ The languages of the African nations, according to Setzen, who has made the most extensive and original researches into this subject, amount to one hundred or one hundred and fifty. In America, there are said to be fifteen hundred idioms "notabilmente diversi." Such was the opinion of Lopez, a missionary of great knowledge in the languages both of South and North America. (See Setzen's letters in Von Zach's *Monatliche Correspondenz* 1810, p. 328, and Hervas's 'Catalogo delle Lingue,' p. 11.)

yet approximate in their most essential constituents and are nearly connected in their grammatical formation. Such phenomena can only be explained on the supposition that a different superstructure has been raised by different nations on a basis originally common. Tribes having a common idiom scanty in its stock of words, appear separately to have added to their speech, partly by new invention, and partly by borrowing from their neighbours, such terms as the progress of knowledge among them required. The accessory parts of languages may have come at length to bear a considerable proportion to the primitive one, or even to exceed it, and the grammatical structure may have been diversified under different modes of cultivation. Hence arise in the first place varieties of dialect; but when the deviation is greater in degree, it constitutes diversity of language. The German and French are never termed dialects of one speech; and yet all who compare their respective sources, the old Teutonic and the Latin languages, are aware that between these, a near and deeply rooted affinity subsists.

Those who will duly weigh the facts which associate themselves with this last consideration, will, I believe, experience no difficulty in admitting all such languages to be cognate, which have in common, together with analogy in grammatical forms, a large number of undoubtedly original and primitive words. Such words are simple vocables,

expressive of the most natural and universal objects and ideas, terms for family relations and for the most striking objects of visible nature, as likewise verbal roots of the most frequent and general occurrence. These are elements of language which must have belonged to every tribe of men in their original dispersion over the world, and which must have been the most tenaciously retained, and scarcely interchanged between different nations. When such elementary parts of speech are common to several languages, and when their grammatical structure displays likewise undoubted marks of a real and fundamental affinity, we may be allowed to regard these languages as cognate, though the number of words peculiar to each may be very considerable.

I have dwelt the more fully on this last consideration, because on it will depend the validity of the conclusions which I shall endeavour to draw in the course of the following treatise. I shall now advert particularly to the population of Europe and the history of the races of which it consists.

NOTES TO SECTION I.

(1) *The Goths not Thracians nor Getæ*—Nothing is more certain than that the language of the Ulphilic translations is German. It is almost as certain that it was the language of the Goths. It is less certain that it was the language of their associates—the Vandals.

The inference of the text is unexceptionable—*viz.*, that the Goths who conquered the Roman Empire, were Germans. It does not, however, follow that *all* Goths were in this category. There may have been others, who, taking no part in the subversion of Rome, spoke no German. Again, it by no means follows that the Germans who conquered the Roman Empire were Goths in the strict sense of the term. They may have been Goths only as the English are Britons, *i.e.* they may never have been called Goths at all, until they settled in the country of the Getæ, and then they may never have called *themselves* so. *Goth*, in short, may have been the name by which they were known to their neighbours, just as *Saxon* is the name by which an Englishman is known to the Welsh.

That both these views are real rather than hypothetical—that no German population ever called itself Gothic, except in the way that we of England call ourselves Britons, and that the true Goths belonged to another family—has been maintained by the present editor elsewhere.

The statement that the tribes who spoke the language of the Ulphilic translations were neither Getæ nor Thracians is accurate. Had its author, however, lived to see the publication of the *Deutsche Sprache* of Grimm, he would have seen it reversed. The doctrine of Grimm is that the Getæ and Thracians were Germans—Germans whose language was that of Ulphilas. Whether he has made out his case is another matter.

(2) *The Origin of the Polynesian Races*—Polynesian means an Inhabitant of the South Sea Islands,—the islands to the south

of New Guinea, New Guinea itself, Australia, and Van Diemen's Land, or Tasmania, being excepted. These belong to a different stock. In the Fiji Islands it is believed that there is an intermixture. The remaining forms of speech fall under two divisions, the Micronesian and the Polynesian Proper. Micronesia includes the Carolines and Marianne Isles, along with Sonsorol, Lord North's Island, and the Pellew group to the east of the Philippines. The Radaek and Ralik Archipelagos lead to the Navigation Isles, with which Polynesia Proper begins. This contains the Friendly and Society Isles, the islands of Dangerous Archipelago, the distant Easter Island, the Sandwich Islands, far as they lie northwards, and New Zealand, far as it lies to the south.

Not is this all. The Micronesian group connects itself with the Philippines, the Philippines with the Moluccas, the Moluccas with Celebes, Java, etc., and these with the Malay of Sumatra and the Malayan Peninsula. Hence, in a very wide sense of the term, the whole great class has been denominated Malay.

Again, distant as is the Island of Madagascar, and different as it is in its direction, its language is, in many points, Malay—a fact known to Reland and other early investigators.

Lastly, it may be remarked that the lines by which the monosyllabic languages on one side, and the Papuan, Australian, and Tasmanian, on the other, are separated, are by no means of that broad and definite character once supposed.

(3) *African Languages*—The evidence that all the tongues of Africa are mutually related, is now conclusive. This is because, in many cases, fresh *data* have been accumulated, as is most especially the case with the Negro languages. In others, however, the process has been somewhat different. Distinctions which were originally held to be broad and definite, have been broken down. This has taken place most especially with the tongues of the extreme north and the extreme south.

To begin with the former. The languages akin to the Hebrew and Arabic—Semitic as they are called—were long either isolated, or, if connected with those of any other class, connected with the so-called Indo-European forms of speech. This was on the strength of the higher civilization, greater historical importance, and superior physical organization of the nations which spoke them. Writers, however, were not slow to

observe that the populations of northern Africa in general were, to a great extent, possessed of the same characteristics. Such were the Egyptians, whose language was the Coptic, a language which was one of the first to be recognised as one exhibiting Semitic characteristics. This was not doubted. It was only doubted whether the Coptic was, in the ordinary sense of the word, African.

Then came a language to which the French conquest of Algeria gave prominence, whilst it also made it accessible, the language of the Kabyles, Tuareks, Siwans, and Canary Islanders, etc. This was recognised, if not as actually Semitic, as what was designated by the new term, *sub-Semitic*.

That other tongues, especially those in geographical contact with the Kabyle (Berber or Amazirgh), were, more or less, what the Berber was, was shown by even the Berber scholars, the foremost of whom recognised, in the Haussa of Sudana, Berber elements (See a paper by Francis Newman in the Appendix to Pritchard's *Physical History of Man,—Africa*).

Then came the turn for the tongues to the south of the Coptic area to be considered as, more or less, Coptic, e.g. the Bisharye, the Nubian, and the Galla, and, finally, that for the languages of Abyssinia in contact with the recognised Semitic tongues (such as the Tygic, Amharic, etc.), but not themselves Semitic. Of these the Agow and Falasha forms of speech are the chief.

With this relation between the Semitic and sub-Semitic classes,—a relation made patent by the name itself,—the question as to the relations of the African languages at large, must either remain stationary, or one of two alternatives be resorted to.

Either languages like the Haussa, Nubian, Agow, etc., must lead to the true negro tongues, or they must be wholly separated from them. It is not too much to say that, on the part of the proper Semitic philologists, the tendency was towards separation. This, however, was impossible. Whoever knew anything of the other African languages, knew that for every step from such languages as the Coptic and Berber, towards the Hebrew and Arabic, a similar advance could be made in the opposite direction, i.e. towards the Fellatah, Mandingo, and Woloff, and through these to the most Negro languages of the whole continent.

This is the way in which one of the old lines of demarcation is broken down

The breaking down of another of them is as follows. The languages of the great Kaffre family, which, to the Englishman of the Cape, have the same importance as the Berber of Algeria to the Frenchman, struck their first cultivators with two points of grammar, known under the names of the Euphonic Alliteration and the System of Prefixes

According to the former, when two words stand in certain grammatical relations to one another, the initial letter of the subordinate is changed to that of the governing term, just as if we said, in English, *bun beam* instead of *sun-beam*

According to the latter, every noun has, as its concomitant, some non-radical prefix, so necessary, that when the missionaries would introduce such English words as *priest* or *pharisee*, the form they took in Kaffre was *um-priest*, *um-pharisee*. The details of these two remarkable characters need not be given. They are only noticed for the sake of suggesting the extent to which they would give the languages wherein they occurred a peculiar physiognomy. Doing this, they had a tendency to create broad and definite lines of demarcation. Hence the separation between the Semitic tongues on the north, and the inland and western dialects, was repeated, in the south, between the Kaffre and the non-Kaffre languages.

So is its abrogation. The ethnological import of the two characteristics in question has never been very closely considered. They may mean much, they may mean little. They are assumed at once, to mean the former. Meanwhile, traces of both the prefixes and the alliteration are discovered elsewhere, sometimes in languages easily connected with the proper Kaffre, but sometimes in languages far distant. To such an extent has this been the case, that, in Koelle's Polyglotta Africana, a whole group of languages spoken on the diamanes of the Gambia and Senegal are, without being called Kaffre, described as "distinguishing themselves like those of South Africa, by prefixal changes, or an initial inflection"

The exact interpretation of the vast and complicated series of phenomena of this kind belongs to special African philology, the present remarks being to the effect that the African languages, instead of presenting a mass of unconnected forms of speech, may now be considered as members of one group—a

group, of course, of high classificational value, but still a group—indicating a fundamental unity in the way of language

(4) *American Languages* — *Mutatis mutandis*, what applies to the languages of Africa applies to those of America also. The more we make researches into their details, the more we find likeness—likeness which breaks down lines of demarcation previously recognised

The chief problems concerning the forms of speech of the Western hemisphere are —

1 Their relations to each other

2 Their relations to those of the Old World.

1 In respect to the first, they have been considered from the two points of view noticed in the forthcoming pages, viz, in respect to their grammatical structure, and in respect to their lexicography

a In respect to the former, it has been admitted, since the time of Duponceau, at least, that they all bear a common character, a character denominated *polysynthetic*. I do not inquire how far this is an accurate term or the contrary. It is enough to know that all the later investigators have attributed to all the languages of America a general resemblance in respect to their grammatical structure.

b In respect to their words, the view has been different. The extent to which several languages, like each other in their grammatical principles, differed in their vocabularies, has long been enlarged upon. Hence arose the apparent paradox of some scores, or even hundreds, of languages resembling one another in their general physiognomy, yet unlike in their constituent elements.

That the paradox is apparent rather than real, has been for some years the expressed opinion (supported by numerous tables of comparison) of the present writer. In other words, he has connected the American languages with each other, glossarially as well as grammatically. At the same time, the likeness by no means lies on the surface.

2 The second question has also been illustrated by recent researches, the effect of which has been to diminish the gulph which separates the tongues of the New World from the Old. In the first place, and, as a preliminary to any further investigation, we must remember that the one language common to the

two hemispheres—the Eskimo—has always been admitted to be American in grammar

It may be added that this complicated the question, inasmuch as it tended to separate it from the Asiatic, without connecting it with the American, tongues, for the contrast between the Eskimo vocabularies and the languages in its immediate neighbourhood, was as decided as that between any two languages of America—that is, according to the current doctrine

This contrast, however, was in the same category with the former one—apparent rather than real. As the Eskimo area is approached from the east, through the Samoyed, Yeniseian, Yukaghir, Kamskadale, and Koriak tongues of Asia, the American character in the way of grammar appears in Asia, and, *vice versa*, as the same area is approached through the languages of North Oregon, the Hudson's Bay country, and Russian America, Eskimo words appear in the western hemisphere

One of the languages of the present text, the Ugalents, or Ugalyachmutsi of the parts about Mount St Elias has, by more than one philologue, been considered Eskimo. This (in the stricter sense of the term) it is not. Neither is it, as has also been held, Kolosh, *i. e.* a member of a class intermediate to the Eskimo and certain other tongues. On the contrary it belongs to the group which contains the Chepewyan, Beaver Indian, Tawulli, and other northern forms of speech—separated from the Eskimo as genera of the same order, but certainly orders of the same class

The Tshugatsi are actual Eskimo

The Kolosh (Koluschian) is the language of the parts about Sitka or New Archangel

The Astek or Mexican words found in these languages, were indicated in the Mitnிடates. Since the publication, however, of that work, they have been shown to exist in other American languages—some inland, some southern, some interjacent to the Kolosh and Mexican areas, *e. g.* in California and elsewhere. The inference from this fact, *taken by itself*, is that the Mexican and Eskimo words are portions of a common stock, rather than elements peculiar to the two languages in question

I use the words "*taken by itself*" for the sake of making a reservation. The question whether the languages of the extreme north-west of America have special, or only general, affinities with the Mexican, is not decided by a mere comparison of words

There is in the Mexican a remarkable phonesis, as is suggested by the number of words ending in *tl*—*azolotl*, etc.—a harsh combination. Now this phonesis appears in the Eskimo, takes a great development in the Kolosh and other northern tongues, extends as far as Oregon, diminishes in California, nearly disappears as we go south, but reappears in Mexico. Is this sufficient to establish a special relationship? The answer to the question has yet to be given. It is a point, however, with which the present work has little or nothing to do.

When speculation first began, the Eskimo of Greenland and Labrador was compared with the Indian of Canada and New England. Now both these were extreme forms of their respective classes. The Eskimo of Greenland and Labrador was the most eastern of his congeners, the Indian of the Eskimo frontier the most American of his. They were each, by the whole breadth of the American continent, separated from Asia. Yet they were the only two that could be compared. Russian America and North Oregon were *terra incognita*. Yet they were just the points where the phenomenon of one division graduating into another were best studied.

But they were unknown. Hence the nearest comparison was between the representatives of a maximum difference. In time, however, the real areas got studied. In the first place, the Chepewyan tongues were studied in their more western dialects. Then came the researches of the admirable philologue to the United States' Exploring Expedition—Mr. Hale. These shed a flood of light over the previously obscure interspace. The truth had been dimly surmised before. His *data*, however, put it beyond doubt. On the coast of the Pacific it was difficult to say where the Eskimo ended and where the Indian tongues began, a fact which made the hitherto obscure origin of the American clear. It is now easier to connect them with Asia, than it is to connect Europe, Africa, New Guinea, Australia, or Tasmania. A difficult problem has become a simple straightforward matter-of-fact phenomenon.

It would not have been impossible for this to have been the case earlier. At any rate, when two languages as far removed from each other in the matter of geographical position as the Samoyed of Siberia, and the Sioux tongues of the Missouri prairies, came to possess good representatives in the shape of

Castren's Grammar and Lexicon of the first, and Riggs' Grammar of the second, it only wanted a skilful and painstaking investigator to show that, even with the interval between the points of comparison, likeness could be detected. The researches of Mr Daae of Christiania have shown this.

The Lenni Lenape—The Indians of Delaware called themselves thus—*lenni = man*. It is a term of great extent and importance. Change the *l* into *t*, and *lenni* becomes *tinne*, a word meaning *man* in all the Athabaskan tongues, so much so, that Sir John Richardson proposed calling them the *Tinne* class of languages, so thoroughly does the name appear in them all. In the form *tenghie*, *tungaas*, it appears in other languages, chiefly in Russian America and Oregon. Yet it does not stop here. It is found promiscuously in numerous tongues, southwards and inland.

Again, Dr Pichud (no careless adopter of proper names) held that it was the Eskimo *inn*-, in *innu-it = men*. It may be added that it is, word for word, the *aino* of the Kurilian Islands. It is also the *denka*, *tonghus*, etc., of more than one Siberian tongue, and—as Sir John Richardson had, with proper diffidence (not noticing the intermediate forms), suggested—the *dunhe* of the Scotch Gaels.

This, however, is episodic and extraneous to the main question, which is concerning the Lenni Lenape. They were not only a single section of a very vast family, but they were early known to be so. Their congeners were spread over the greater part of the New England States, part of Canada, part of Labrador, the interior of America as far as the Rocky Mountains (the Black-foot Indians belonging to the class), Virginia, and even parts of the Carolinas: so vast was the Lenni Lenape area. Some call it Lenapean, some Algonkin, some Algik—a barbarous abbreviation of the preceding denomination.

Be this, however, as it may, the class itself was one of great magnitude.

The same applies to—

The Iroquois—Members of this class occupied New York, the shores of Lake Huron, and parts of the Carolinas, separated from each other by branches of the Algonkins, but still forming a large class.

The Florida Indians, in like manner, belong to a group (the Creek, Muskoghe, or Muscogulge) which is itself a branch of a

larger stock, containing the Cherokees, and probably the Caddos, Woccons, Catawbias, and other less important tribes. Add to this, that (without inordinately raising its value) we may comprise within it the Iroquois (just mentioned) and the great Sioux class.

Such, at least, is the result to which recent researches point.

All this, then, is so much in favour of a certain amount of uniformity of language over large geographical areas.

A population mentioned in the text, may here be noticed —

The Yukagers — The Yukagers, Yugaghiri, Yukuyiri, or Yukahiri, are one of the most northern populations of Asia, their occupancy being the shore of the Arctic Sea. With the exception of the Tshuktshi and Asiatic Eskimo, they are also the most eastern. They are also one of those least known, a single sample of their language being all that we possess.

Their country, the drainage of the Kolyma, Jana, and Indjirka rivers, is bounded on the west by the territory of the Jakuts, and on the east by that of the Sedentary Tshuktshi. On both sides it has been encroached on, the area of the Yukahiri having at one time been much larger than it is now. Hence their language, from the obliteration of the dialects spoken on the circumference of its area, is comparatively isolated.

This appearance of isolation is increased by the scantiness of its vocabulary. Hence, in the Asia Polyglotta, the Yukahiri tongue is placed by itself. And this isolation has been admitted by Prichard and most other writers.

The present writer, objecting to this view, has shown that it has much in common with the Yeniseian and Samoyed. Hence, when the Samoyed came to be considered as a member of the great Finn, or Ugric, class, the Yukahiri was placed in it also.

Yet the Yukahiri has (there or thereabouts) equal affinities with the Koriak, Kamskadale, and Eskimo, as it has with the languages of north-western America.

The following sample is instructive.

If we compare the numerals *one, two, three, four, five*, of the Yukahiri with the languages of its neighbourhood, we find no resemblance. If, however, we go beyond *five*, and ask the names for *seven* and *eight*, we find that they are compounds, and compounds of an interesting character.

To illustrate this, let us imagine the English numerals to run thus—*one, pair, leash, four, five, six, five-and-two, five-and-three,*

nine, ten In this list the words for *two* and *three* are wanting in their proper places, being replaced by *pair* and *leash*, meanwhile they appear in the names for *seven* and *eight*. In short, they are true portions of the language, though not seen to be so at first.

Indeed, in a comparison of the English with the German numerals, which run *ein, zwei, drei*, etc., they might be overlooked altogether, and, on the strength of their having so been overlooked, the statement might be made that the numerals for *two* and *three* were different in the two languages. Yet such would not be the case, when we got as far as *seven* and *eight*, they would show themselves.

Mutatis mutandis, this applies to the Yukahiri numerals as compared with those of certain American languages.

A full explanation of all the phenomena connected with the languages of America, especially the great extent to which they differ from each other, has yet to be given. An important contribution to it, however, has been made by Mr Daae of Christiania, in one paper published in the Edinburgh Philosophical Transactions, and in another in the Transactions of the Philological Society. They belong to what may be called philological dynamics, *i. e.* the investigation of the forces that effect changes in language.

In the first of his papers, Mr Daae gives great prominence to the habit attributed to several rude tribes (one which he shows to be commoner than is generally imagined), of always choosing wives from a different tribe from their own, or (at any rate) from some different section of the community.

In the second, he gives a special monograph on the American languages, paying particular attention to the smallness of the American communities. "When language is confined to the daily use of a family or a small knot of acquaintance, it stands in a quite contrary relation to the use of men, to what it does when it is the common medium that combines millions of human beings. In the last case, the individual license in changing the adopted sounds and significations of words, whereby are introduced novelties of speech, is continually checked by the impossibility of making all such unnecessary changes comprehensible to the mass of those who speak. Thus we see that in the present English and French languages, this license of adding to what is the common property of millions in both hemispheres, is a privilege for only a few distinguished inventors of new things, or authors of

widely read books. The power of changing language is so much repressed that it can only be observed by comparing two remote periods of the history of language, as you observe the geological changes by considering generations as merely a single day. The habit of speaking distinctly is then kept up and cultivated as a necessary means to be comprehended by the many unknown persons you continually meet with.

"In a small island in the South Sea, or an insignificant tribe in the wildernesses of America or Siberia, the facility of changing language may easily be conceived to be next to unbounded. Everybody who speaks must become understood, because his hearers almost know beforehand what he is to say. The most arbitrary changes of language are thus introduced continually, as may be proved historically.

"Almost all those languages that are spoken by nations living either in a natural (geographical) isolation, or in an arbitrary and artificial one, want a good number of letters. For one letter in one dialect, is substituted another letter in the next tribe, because every word is as well understood whether you pronounce it with the letter *r*, or *l*, or *v*. Accidental and individual defects of uttering are thus changed into national peculiarities, and a general indistinctness of pronunciation is introduced. The sounds that are hardly perceptible to a stranger will, among close relatives, appear sufficiently intelligible."

"The strange practices of mutilating the nose and the lips must have contributed a great deal to disfigure the enunciation of language itself. The insertion of one or more large pieces of wood into incisions in the lips or the nose, still practised on the Pacific coast (Tr. Geogr. Soc. vol. II p. 218), and from which custom a tribe is called *Nes Percé*, has no doubt been more frequent formerly, as we see that all such cruel absurdities as tattooing, flattening the heads of children, etc., are the first prejudices a savage abandons when he comes in contact with the Whites (Hooper, *Tents of the Tuski*, p. 270). These mutilations would evidently make it next to impossible to pronounce any labial consonant, and they would in return introduce a nasal articulation. Now a paucity of labial, and a superfluity of nasal, sounds is just what we observe in many American languages.

"Similar permutations of letters of course happen among all languages of the world, and in fact form the basis and the principal means by which the differences in language are introduced.

and produced. Only among those nations who lead an isolated life are these changes more violent, and appear to separate tribes that evidently, from their general habits and manners, must be very closely related. Thus the Dakotas, forming only a nation of 25,000 individuals, are split into tribes divided by such considerable differences of dialect as these —one tribe changes *d* into *t*, and *h* into *r*, another changes *h* into *k*, a third changes *h* into *g*, *d* is altogether rejected, and *l* substituted in its place, another band only uses *g* at the end of syllables, and *l* does not occur, thus the word *hda*, 'to go home,' becomes *kda* and *gla* in different dialects. This same tendency will of course introduce as violent euphonic changes within the same language or dialect in the way of declension, conjugation, and the formation or composition of words."

"In the syllabic alphabet invented for the Cherokee tongue by a native the whole number of possible syllables is merely seventy, besides the vowels (Trans Amer Ethn Soc v ii 119). In the excellent Dakota dictionary of Mr Riggs, we see abundant proofs how a scarcity of radical words and simple ideas is made to expand into a language of endless compositions. But from the variety of objects to be expressed, these composed words in a great measure must contain the most arbitrary description of things —a continual make-shift of substitutes for the thing that is thus obscurely brought before the mind. For instance, the word *maza* means 'metal of any kind,' *gādi*, 'merchandise', hence are derived, by addition of other substantives, or adjectives and particles, compositions expressing an *anchor*, *iron-pot*, *bracelet*, *bell*, *trap*, *chair*, *gun* and all its parts, *pistol*, *cannon*, *lock*, *ramrod*, etc., *nail*, *steelyard*, *blacksmith*, *spade*, *finger-ring*, *stove*, *skates*, *sword*, *iron*, *silver*, *money*, *dollar*, *shilling*, *bank-note*, *medal*, *gold*, *leaf*, *bullet*, *moulds*, *copper*, *prester*, *button*, *spoon*, *pair*, *brass*, *file*, *hammer*, *pincers*, *tongs*. In like manner the syllable *ta* comprehends all ruminating animals and their parts

"As another instance of arbitrary contrivances may be quoted the Dakota word *śungka*, that originally comprehended the ideas *dog*, *fox*, and *wolf*. But then the *dog*, being the animal first employed for carrying or drawing burdens, it was, after the settlement of the Europeans, also used of the horse when it came to be known to the Indians (*śungka-uakay* = *spirit dog*, *sacred dog* = *horse*). Thus it became the only radical word fit for

forming the further compounds denoting *horse, mare, colt, ass, saddle, whip, lasso, bridle, etc* "

"The state of small isolated tribes or clans in which the half-savage nations live, will as easily introduce an endless change of significations. In a family, or amongst the inmates of the same house, it is quite as easy to make arbitrary expressions or slang words understood and ultimately accepted as an indistinct utterance of the common words. Instead of *father*, you may say *master, governor, husband, the old one*, and the original word *father* you may restrict to *God* only, instead of *child* you may use any word signifying *little* or *dear*, etc. We have special accounts of two remarkable instances of the action of this principle among the rude tribes. One is the superstitious custom of the South Sea Islanders, on the death of a king whose name is composed of a couple of common words, to abstain altogether from the use of those words that form his name, and to substitute others. The practice is either ascribed to a reverence for him, or to some religious sentiment connected with omens. Such a custom will of course, in many instances, lead to a permanent instead of a temporary change of language. The other fact upon this head is the sacred language employed by the conjurers or priests. As far as this has been accurately found out, for instance, in the Greenlandic, it seems to be chiefly an arbitrary perversion of the significations of old and known words. It is, then, the same principle as in Europe has formed any slang, for instance among vagrants and thieves. Yet these words of the conjurers have been so far altered that any double meaning is sufficiently avoided.

"From the effect of these causes it appears probable that as one savage tribe may, from trifling occasions, suddenly split into two, that separate widely from each other, thus also their language may, in a comparatively short time, deviate into two very different dialects. If there were means of investigating the state of a given language of savages in different periods, it would perhaps be demonstrable that its formation as a peculiar dialect, or a variety of speech, does not require those thousands of years, as one might suppose, who starts from the fact that a great many Greek and Hebrew words have been preserved uncorrupted for thousands of years, through the influence of literature and civilization."

(5) *a Languages with few words in common, yet with an analogy in respect to their grammatical construction*—These constitute the class to which, according to certain remarks lately made, the languages of America belonged. The fact, however, in this particular instance was demurred to.

The general rule, however, may be true. How far it is so, is a question of some complexity, at any rate, a question requiring some preliminary considerations.

The further our researches carry us into the phenomena of speech the more they lead to the conclusion that the laws of language are the laws of growth and development. It seems, for instance, that a period wherein no inflexions are evolved precedes the period of inflections. In such a case, there is no declension, no conjugation, no case, no tense, no mood, no grammar in short, but only so many separate uninflected words, related to each other by certain details in respect to their position, and with few or no modifications of their forms. Utter such a sentence as *sun shine way air*, and you have an imperfect instance of this condition of language, the words mean, *(the) sun, shine(s) through (the) air*.

In the next stage, it is maintained that certain of the words which, like *way (and)* in the example just given, indicate the relation which the other words bear to each other, coalesce with the leading and more essential parts of the sentence, and so undergo a change of form. This is the case with the *nt* in *can't* as opposed to *can not*, *not* being capable of reduction to *ne uhil* (*not-at-all*).

In this stage, the secondary words which coalesce with the main, do so in so imperfect a manner as to leave their originally separate existence visible. Languages in this state are called *agglutinate*. It is the state in which most of the languages of the world exist. The Mantshu and Mongol are the usual examples of this condition. Most other tongues, however, would serve as well.

The coalition of the subordinate with the main word having become so perfect as for the former to look like a part of the latter, rather than a word originally separate, the combination becomes *amalgamate* instead of *agglutinate*, and the language *inflectional*. The Greek and Latin are the types of this form.

Inflections fall off and get displaced by separate words, these words being of a peculiar kind—prepositions with substantives,

auxiliaries with verbs. The English is in this stage, and, doubtless, it is destined to further changes

It is obvious that languages in the same stage will just be the languages that present the "analogy" of the text

It is also obvious that where they are separated from each other by any great distance the vocabularies will be unlike

Let the Hottentot and Fucian be on the same stage of development and there will be grammatical analogy but glossarial difference

Let the Italian and Latin be in different stages and there will be glossarial likeness and grammatical difference

b Languages where both the words and grammatical structure differ, will be languages both widely distant from each other and in different stages, e.g. the Polynesian and the French

More frequently, however—

a It means languages, concerning which, a full and sufficient comparison both of their words and inflections having been made, a certain amount of difference may be predicated or,

b It may simply mean languages, the affinities of which have not been recognized, the doctrine being that *de non apparentibus et non existentibus eadem habenda est ratio* or,

c It may mean languages between which a cursory inspection has failed to discover resemblances

Of the former there are but few instances. In the mind of the present writer there are none. The majority of the tongues that stand alone, and without either particular or general affinities, only do so because few investigators have studied them, the neglect having arisen sometimes from the insufficiency of materials, sometimes from the apparent unimportance of the language itself. The more, however, they are looked to, the less is their isolation

Another class of languages is in a somewhat different predicament. These are, either geographically or in respect to their cultivation, at vast distances from each other, say at the two extremes of the world of language. When these are compared, how can we expect any notable amount of likeness—of likeness, at least, that a cursory, or even a moderately close, inspection can discover? For this we must look to the interjacent areas

With this exception, it must be obvious that the present writer holds that languages which differ in both words and gram-

metrical structure, either do not do so entirely, or (if they do) constitute extreme forms

Having thus considered the chief points of detail, upon which criticism was required, we may turn to the main question of the present section, viz, the value of the evidence of language as an instrument in ethnological inquiry

A common language is *prima facie* evidence in favour of a common lineage. But it is by no means conclusive. If naturalists and anatomists have laid undue stress upon differences in the way of physical conformation, and, so doing, have disparaged the phenomena of speech, philologues and scholars, ignorant of physiology, have too often overrated them.

The strongest instances of a mother-tongue being forgotten or un-learned, and a new language adopted in its stead, are to be found amongst the negroes of the New World. In St Domingo, the Black languages are French and Spanish, in the United States, English, and in South America, Dutch, Spanish, and Portuguese. Here, however, the conditions were peculiar. The native language was no longer connected with the soil to which it was indigenous, but transplanted to a new area. Neither was it any single homogeneous form of speech that was obliterated, but, on the contrary, a multitude of mutually unintelligible tongues, which, under any circumstances, would have ended in the establishment of a *Lingua Franca*.

With the negro languages of the New World we have the *maximum* amount of change in speech with a *minimum* in the way of intermixture of blood. With the native American tribes, the phenomena of change are somewhat different. As a general rule, the number of individuals who speak one and the same language is remarkably small. Every now and then, however, in contact with these small patches of speech, is to be found some language spread over a considerable area, and spoken by several tribes. Some of these the missionaries have converted into *Lingua Francas*, it being a matter of observation that an American Indian learns an American language, no matter how unlike his own, easier than one from Europe. Many of the minor languages of the South American Republics and Brazil have been thus replaced by the Guaraní.

In each of the previous cases, there is the actual replacement of one language by another. In the *Lingua Franca* of Europe this is not always the case. In the Levant, the *Lingua Franca*,

is spoken by numerous Arabs, Greeks, etc. The native Arabic, however, and the native Greek, co-exist by the side of it. There is no extinction as yet. Nevertheless, the tendencies towards it have set in, inasmuch as where two languages have to be learned, the less useful is the weakest, and has a chance of going to the wall.

Sometimes, with two languages thus brought in contact with each other, we have the phenomenon of intermixture rather than obliteration—an intermediate tongue being formed out of the fusion of two. *A priori*, it seems likely that such should be the case *often*. In reality, however, the development of such a language as (say) C, out of languages A and B, is very rare indeed. The ordinary phenomenon is A with a certain amount of B, or B with a certain amount of A—the original character of the fundamental language being preserved. The English (for instance), for all its Latin elements, is German, the French, for all its German elements, Latin.

This suggests, that in language we have every degree of change, from simple intermixture to absolute obliteration and replacement. It also suggests that similarity of language is a matter of degree. There may be absolutely community of tongue, or there may be an admixture of say only *one per cent* of foreign terms.

Language is one of those signs of community of origin which is slow to be abolished—slower than most others—slower, perhaps (on the whole), than any other, nevertheless, it is only a sign, and a sign capable of obliteration. Its relative permanence, when compared with other *criteria*, is a matter upon which there is a wide discrepancy of opinion, the facts upon which our hypotheses must rest being by no means easily ascertained. It is only certain that the questions involved in it are far too complicated to be disposed of by the application of any general rule. As new ideas are introduced, language changes. As new physical influences are brought into action, the anatomical conformation of the human body becomes modified. That these latter forces have *some* influence is universally admitted, though many competent authorities put a close limit on its extent. It is clear, however, that, within certain limits, both language and physical conformation may change.

They may change, too, at different rates—*i.e.*, in a given period (say ten generations) the speech may be considerably modified,

whilst the anatomy of the speakers remains the same And, *vice versa*, the physiognomies may alter, whilst language remains fixed Every comparison of the difference of rate between such changes should be made on the merits of the particular question under notice, no general rule being sufficient

Next comes the question of *limit* Here we may safely say that the range of change in language is wider than that of which physical form is susceptible It is, clearly, easier for a negro to be converted into a Frenchman in the matter of language, than in that of colour Extreme forms of language may more easily be converted into each other than extreme forms of physical conformation, and this is all that can safely be said It is by no means certain that a population of negroes, transplanted from a low alluvial swamp to an elevated mountain range, would not retain their language, without alteration, longer than they would their physical form—*within certain limits*

The contact of two languages has a greater tendency to effect the obliteration of one of them than the development of a *tertium quid* out of their fusion

The contact of different stocks in the way of physical union has a greater tendency to effect a *tertium quid* than the obliteration of one of the constituent elements

From this it follows that languages are much more *either one thing or another* than stocks, races, or families The language of Radnorshire and Cornwall is much more English (as opposed to Welsh) than the blood or pedigree of its speakers is English, indeed, as a general rule, the blood of a given population is more mixed than its language This is because, whilst A and B, in the way of stock, blood, or pedigree, will give C (a true *tertium quid*, or a near approach to it), A and B, in the way of language, will only give themselves,—i.e. they will give no true *tertium quid*, nor any very close approach to it These, however, are matters that belong to the question of Man in general rather than to Language Language, (as an instrument of criticism in ethnology) is the most permanent of the criteria of human relationship derivable from our moral constitution, and, in some cases, equally permanent with physical form, though, in the case of extreme changes, less so

It is not, however, to be supposed that these remarks exhaust the subject, and leave all objections answered They only bring it to the point where it comes in contact with the ordinary and

current doctrines of the zoologist and physiologist, these being supposed to hold moderate, rather than extreme, views concerning the immutability of specific characters, and also to acquiesce, more or less, in the usual opinion concerning the sterility of hybrids. Where these views are ignored or objected to, a whole vista of possible objections opens upon us.

For instance, the naturalist, who, admitting the fundamental unity of all forms of human speech, maintained such an hypothesis as the following, would be hard to refute. Let there be many allied species of the genus Homo, let them be capable, either within certain limits, or to an unlimited extent, of prolific intermixture, let one or more of these be characterized by the possession of language, either to the absolute exclusion of the rest, or the others having it in an imperfect and rudimentary condition, let intermixture take place in such a manner that the species of the less perfect language become blended with the species of the more perfect, etc.

Such a doctrine might fairly be said to account for many somewhat difficult phenomena, and, at the same time, to be beyond refutation.

Again,—let allied but different species construct their language on the same principles, and, unless the original difference be too great, there will be a certain amount of likeness wholly independent of imitation.

Similar trains of reasoning against the ordinary inference deducible from a fundamental unity of language could (if this were the proper place for them) be pointed out. The preceding, however, stand as samples, the position laid down in the text, that the “use of languages really cognate is—a strong presumption of kindred race” being correct.

SECTION II

Nations of Europe at the earliest periods of history—Eastern origin of several proved by their languages—Indo-European languages—Is the Celtic allied to them?—Denied by several writers—Motives for the discussion of this question

At that era when the earliest dawning of history begins to dispel the mists which had hovered over the first ages of the world, we find the different races of people in Europe nearly in the same relative situations which they now occupy, and we can discern scarcely a trace, even in the oldest memoirs, of those wanderings of tribes which may be supposed to have filled this region of the world with inhabitants. In the remotest quarters of Europe, towards the setting sun, we are told by Herodotus, that the Celtæ and Cynetæ dwelt about the sources of the Ister and the city—perhaps rather the mountains—of Pyrene, and it is unknown during how many ages they had occupied the region thus described, before the father of history obtained these earliest notices of them. It would seem, however, that before the Trojan war even Britain must have had inhabitants, since tin was at that time in use, which was brought from Britain by Phœnician traders.^a We know likewise that the Teutonic

^a This at least would appear from the account given by Herodotus of the Phœnician commerce

nations inhabited the northern countries of Europe at a period not long subsequent to the age of Herodotus. Pytheas, the navigator of Marseilles, who was nearly contemporary with Aristotle, is well known to have made a voyage of discovery towards the north beyond the Pillars of Hercules, by far the most ancient that is recorded in that direction. In the course of this voyage he visited Britain, and even obtained some knowledge of Thule, or Iceland, and of the coast of the Baltic sea. Pytheas mentions the Guttones, who inhabited the shores of an estuary which must have been the mouth of the Vistula, and who carried on with their neighbours the Teutones a traffick in amber, a native production of their country^b. The Teutones are well known under that name, the Guttones are probably the Goths, and thus we already discern in the north of Europe two of the most celebrated nations belonging to the Germanic family, in an age when even the name of Rome had scarcely become known to the Greeks⁽⁶⁾. The Finns and the Slavonians are generally supposed to have been the latest among the great nations who formed the population of Europe.⁽⁷⁾ But Finningia and the Fenni are mentioned by Tacitus and Pliny, who place them beyond

^b "Pytheas Guttonibus Germanæ genti accoli æstuarium oceanî Mentonon nomine spatîo stadiorum ab hoc diu navigatione insulam abesse Abalum illo vere fluctibus advchi, et esse concretû maris purgamentum incolas pro ligno ad ignem uti eo proximumque Teutonis vendere Huic et Timæus credidit, sed insulam Baltiam vocavit" *Plin Hist Nat lib xxxvii cap 2* The island of Abalus, or Baltia, may be Abo

Germany and towards the Vistula. In the age of these writers the Finns were situated near the eastern parts of the Baltic, and had probably extended themselves already as far as those districts, where their descendants were known under the name of Beormahs or Biarmiers, in the times of Ohthere and St. Olaf. The Slavonians, indeed, are not early distinguished in Europe under that name, but by the appellation of Wends, given to the Slavonic race by the Germans, we recognise them in the geographical descriptions of Pliny and Tacitus, who mention the Venedi, and place them near the Finns, and on the borders of Finningia. There the *Οὐενέδαι*, or Winidæ, are stationed by Ptolemy and Jornandes, and the last of these writers appropriates expressly the name of Winidæ to the Slavonic nations. It is besides highly probable that the Russians were known to Herodotus, and that they are mentioned by him under a term little varying from that which is now applied to the same people by their Finnish neighbours, for the Finns distinguish the Muscovites by the name of Rosso-lanen, or Russian people, and call themselves and nations of their own kindred Suoma-lanen. The word Rosso-lanen heard and written by a Greek would be Rhoxolani. The Rhoxolani, who are first described by Herodotus, are said in the age of Strabo to have inhabited the plains near the sources of the Tanais and the Borysthenes.

It appears, then, that the European races, in the

earliest periods in which we have any information respecting them, held nearly the same relative situations as the tribes of people who are chiefly descended from them still continue to occupy. Thus far the facts which history develops afford no evidence against the hypothesis, that different parts of the world were originally filled 'with indigenous inhabitants. It would be vain to attempt, merely from traits of resemblance in some customs or superstitions, or even from the doctrines of druidism and the mythology of the sagas, to ascribe a common origin to the nations of Europe and those of the East. By a similar mode 'of reasoning we might perhaps as well deduce the Turks and the Tartars from Arabia, and the Buddhists of northern Asia from India or Ceylon Nor can historical traditions fill up the void We can only hope by an analysis of the European languages to obtain a proof, that these races of people, having preserved common elements of speech, were connected 'in origin with the nations of Asia

The languages of the Finnish nations, the Laplanders, the Hungarians, the Ostiaks, and other Siberian Tschudes, have been compared and carefully analysed by several German and other northern writers, particularly by Gyarman, Adelung, Gatterer, and Julius Klaproth The result that appears to have been sufficiently established is, as I have elsewhere remarked, that all these nations sprang from one original The primitive seat of this great

race of men, or rather the earliest station in which we can discover them by historical inquiries, is the country which lies between the chain of Caucasus and the southern extremities of the Uralian mountains.

But our chief concern at present is with the Indo-European tribes. That term was designed to include a class of nations, many of them inhabitants of Europe, whose dialects are more or less nearly related to the ancient language of India. This discovery was originally made by comparing the Sanskrit with the Greek and Latin. A very considerable number of words were found to be common to these languages, and a still more striking affinity was proved to exist between the grammatical forms respectively belonging to them. It is difficult to determine which idiom, the Latin or the Greek, approaches most nearly to the Sanskrit, but they are all evidently branches of one stem.

It was easily proved, that the Teutonic as well as the Slavonian dialects, and the Lettish or Lithuanian which are in some respects intermediate between the former, stand nearly in the same relation to the ancient language of India.

Several intermediate languages, as the Zend and other Persian dialects, the Armenian and the Ossète, which is one of the various idioms spoken by the nations of Caucasus, have been supposed by writers who have examined their structure and etymology to belong to the same stock.⁽⁸⁾

Thus a near relation was proved to subsist between a considerable number of dialects spoken by nations who are spread over a great part of Europe and Asia. It may be remarked that the more accurate the examination of these languages has been, the more extensive and deeply rooted their affinity has been discovered to be. Those who are acquainted with Professor Jacob Grimm's able and lucid Analysis of the Teutonic idioms, will fully admit the truth of this remark. The historical inference hence deduced is, that the European nations, who speak dialects referable to this class of languages, are of the same race with the Indians and other Asiatics to whom the same observation may be applied; and this conclusion seems to have been admitted by writers who in general have displayed little indulgence towards the visionary speculations of philologists⁴.

⁴ The Edinburgh Reviewers, in a late critique, to which the observation in the text may particularly be applied, have remarked "We are free to confess that the result of our inquiries has been to produce a conviction in our minds that the affinities known to subsist between the Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, and German languages are perfectly irreconcilable with any other supposition than that of their having all been derived from a common source or primitive language spoken by a people of whom the Indians, Greeks, Latins, and Germans were equally the descendants" Ed. Rev. No. 102, p. 562. Buron Cuvier has admitted the same inference as far as it relates to the Indians and the Greeks, which is equivalent to its general admission. He says, "The Pelasgi were originally from India, of which the Sanskrit roots that occur abundantly in their language *do not permit us to doubt*. It is probable that by crossing the mountains of Persia they penetrated as far as the Caucasus, and that from this point, instead of continuing their route by land, they embarked on the Black Sea, and made a descent upon the coasts of Greece." In another passage of the same lecture, M. Cuvier observes, "that the Sanskrit language is the most regular that is known, and that it is especially remarkable for the circumstance that it contains the roots of the various languages of Europe, of

The inquiry has frequently been made, whether the Celtic dialects belong to the class of languages thus allied, for which the term Indo-European is the most suitable designation. The question is an interesting one, because it has a particular bearing on the origin of the nations of Western Europe, including the British Isles, as well as a more extensive one on the physical history of mankind. We have to inquire whether the same arguments which prove most of the other nations in this quarter of the world to have sprung from an eastern origin, may also be applied to that stock whose branches at the earliest period of history were spread over Gaul and Britain, and a part of Spain. Writers on the history of languages and the antiquity of nations have been divided with respect to this question. Adeling and Murray have regarded the Celtic as a branch of the Indo-European stock. But the latter of these writers has passed over the subject in a very cursory manner, or rather, he has left that part of his work which relates to the Celtic dialects in an incomplete state. And Adeling, who has been followed in this particular by many foreign writers, has committed the error of supposing the Welsh tongue to be a descendant from the language of the Belgæ, and not from that of the Celtæ, who inhabited the central parts of Gaul, and, as it is generally supposed, of Britain.⁽⁹⁾ A want of access

the Greek, Latin, German, and Slavonic" (Baron Cuvier's Lectures on the Natural Sciences). He has omitted the Celtic nations, the earliest inhabitants of Western Europe, and perhaps regards them as aborigines.

to information respecting the Celtic dialects has prevented the learned men of Germany from forming correct opinions on their relations to each other, and hence it has arisen, that this department in the history of languages—a subject which has been principally investigated by German writers—still remains but imperfectly elucidated. Many of the continental writers, among whom may be mentioned Frederick Schlegel and Malte Brun, seem to have believed the Celtic to be a language of a distinct class, entirely unconnected with the other idioms of Europe, and in England the same opinion has been expressed by several well-known authors. Mr. Pinkerton has declared in the most positive terms that the Celtæ were a people entirely distinct from the rest of mankind. He says that their language, “the real Celtic, is as remote from the Greek as the Hottentot from the Lapponic.” “The mythology of the Celtæ,” adds Mr. Pinkerton, “resembled, in all probability, that of the Hottentots, or others the rudest savages, as the Celtæ anciently were, and are little better at present, being incapable of any progress in society” A late writer, in a work of extensive research, at the conclusion of a chapter, in which he has refuted some of the opinions of Pelloutier and Bullet with respect to the Celtæ and their language, thus sums up the general result of his inquiries: —“With regard,” he says, “to the

languages of Asia, "I may adopt the words of Davis in the preface to his Dictionary, after substituting the word *nullam* for *manifestam*. 'Ausim affirmare linguam Britannicam (Celticam) tum vocibus, tum phrasibus et orationis contextu, tum literarum pronuntiatione, nullam cum orientalibus habere congruentiam et affinitatem.'¹ The Celtic, therefore," continues the same writer, "when divested of all words which have been introduced into it by conquest and religion, is a perfectly original language. but this originality incontrovertibly proves that neither Greek, Latin, or the Teutonic dialects, nor Arabic, Persian, or Sanskrit, were derived from the Celtic, since these languages have not any affinity whatever with that tongue."

In the first edition of my *Researches into the Physical History of Mankind*, which was published in 1813, fifteen years before the work from which the preceding extract has been taken, I ventured to make the following statement on this subject, the result of what appeared to myself an adequate examination —

"We have remarked above that there is historical proof of the connexion of the Slavonian, German, and Pelasgian races with the ancient Asiatic nations. Now the languages of these races and the Celtic, although differing much from each

¹ "I dare to affirm that the British or Celtic language has no connection or affinity with the languages of the East, either in words, or phrases, or the construction of sentences, or the pronuntiation of letters."

other, and constituting the four principal departments of dialects which prevail in Europe, are yet so far allied in their radical elements, that we may with certainty pronounce them to be branches of the same original stock. The resemblance is remarkable in the general structure of speech, and in those parts of the vocabulary which must be supposed to be the most ancient, as in words descriptive of common objects and feelings, for which expressive terms existed in the primitive ages of society. We must therefore infer, that the nations to whom these languages belonged emigrated from the same quarter.”^g

The extent which my work necessarily assumed, and the apparent incongruity of filling up any considerable part of a physiological essay with glossaries or remarks on grammatical forms, combined with other reasons in preventing me from entering at full into the proof of these assertions, and the same circumstances operated likewise at the publication of the second edition. I have, however, had the subject occasionally in view during the interval, and have collected from time to time materials for a treatise upon it, which many circumstances have at

* Researches, etc., p. 534. The following note was appended to this passage —

“The author of the review of Wilkins’s Sanskrit Grammar, in the thirteenth volume of the Edinburgh Review, has given a comparative vocabulary of the Sanskrit, Persian, Latin, and German languages, which completely evinces the truth of the position here affirmed, as far as the above languages are concerned. But the proof would have been more striking, if he had added the Celtic dialects and the Greek. I have made an attempt to supply this deficiency, which I intend to make public.”

length determined me to lay before the public. Among these may be mentioned the decided opinion advanced in the work from which I have above cited a passage, proving, unless I am mistaken, that there is not yet sufficient information before the public on a subject of considerable moment in respect to the history of the human race, and the relation of its various branches to each other. Another motive to this determination has been the advice of some learned friends with whom I have conversed on the subject of the following treatise, and particularly of the two highly distinguished men to whom it is dedicated.

The main object which I have had in view in the composition of this work has been to institute such a comparison of the Celtic dialects with the languages allowed to belong to the Indo-European stock, as may tend to illustrate the relation of the Celtic people to the rest of mankind. In the course, however, of this inquiry, I have incidentally discovered that the relations between the languages above mentioned and the Celtic, is such as not merely to establish the affinity of the respective nations, but likewise to throw light upon the structure of the Indo-European languages in general, and particularly to illustrate some points of obscurity, to which many writers on grammar and etymology have adverted without fully elucidating them. The following pages will contain such remarks as I have thought requisite on this point of view.

NOTES TO SECTION II

(6) *Pytheas* —That Pytheas met with Germans on the shores of either the Baltic, or the northern parts of the German Ocean, is nearly certain. If he did not do this, he at least met with populations who came in contact with Germans. Whether the evidence of the text prove this is another question. I hold that it does not.

1 It is by no means certain that the text of Pliny makes the Teutons the neighbours to the Guttones. Instead of being rendered the "near Germans," it may mean the "Germans who are nearest." These may be very distant.

2 As little is it certain that the Teutons of Pliny were Germans. In the eyes of the earlier writers of the empire, the word Teuton meant "belonging to the same family as the Teutones conquered by Marius." Who they were was not exactly known. At first they seem to have been considered Gauls, but when Gaul became better known, as it was in the time of Julius Cæsar, and no Teutons, *eo nomine*, appeared therein, it became necessary to look for them further north. In Strabo's time they passed for Germans, yet, even in Germany, *eo nomine*, no Teutons were ever found. Hence it is neither certain that all the writers who used the word Teuton meant thereby a native of Germany, nor that those who meant that were correct in their notions.

3 The chief reason, however, for the widely-spread doctrine that the Teutones were Germans, is the fact of the modern German being called Deutsch, Dutch, Tydske, etc. Whatever be the forms this name takes, it gives us the root *Teut-*, since the *sch*, *cl*, *she*, etc., are neither more nor less than the *-ish* in words like *self-ish*. If so, *Dutch* = *Teut-on*.

Plausible as this looks at first, it is the very worst reason that can be given. The word *Dutch* could never have existed in the time of the *Teutones*, any more than the words *Vulgar Tongue* could have existed at the same time. *Diot-* means *people*, *dioi-isc* means *popular*, and when the vernacular language of the Germans (as it did *after* the introduction of Christianity) came to be contrasted with the language of Rome, the *Dutch* or *popular* tongue came to be contrasted with the Literary, or Latin. How then could the *Teutones* have been *Dutch* in the time of Marius, long before such a contrast existed?

4 Upon the words *Germaniæ genti* no great stress can be laid. The Germania of even Tacitus, who wrote much more precisely than did Pliny, contained populations who, in our eyes, would not be Germans. The *Æstyri* are specially stated to have spoken a language other than German. Now no two populations, bearing different names, can more legitimately be identified with each other than these *Æstyri* with the very Guttones under notice. Both names belonged to the amber country, and we shall soon see that special reasons can be given for believing that they were both borne by the same tribes.

These are points, however, which, in present criticism, are but briefly noticed. They have been considered fully, and perhaps over-fully, in more than one work of the present writer's, especially in his ethnological edition of the Germania of Tacitus. Nor, indeed, are they of fundamental importance here, the main fact that Dr. Prichard insists on, viz. that at the beginning of the historical period the nations of Europe occupied the same relative situations which they occupy at the present time, being correct.

There *were* Germans on the Baltic, though it may not be the text of Pliny upon which the belief in their existence best rests. There is a single word in Strabo, which, pointing to the earliest visitors of that sea, has, in the eyes of the philological ethnologist, the same value that a single fossil, in an otherwise obscure formation, has in those of the geologist. It is the word *Ἀσιαῖοι*, which is, doubtless, neither more nor less than *Æst-yræ* (the form in Tacitus), which is the German *Nast*, even as it is in the present terms, *Esthen*, *Est-land*, etc. = *Estonia*. The men who speak, in the nineteenth century, of certain eastern populations of the Baltic as *Este*, must be the descendants, in speech at least, of the men who, in the time of Tacitus, called the

same *Ests* by the name *Estyn*, and, in the time of Pytheas, *Ἐστιάσιοι*. Whether they meant the same people, is another question. Probably they did not, they simply meant some one *east* of themselves. These might be the occupants of the modern Estonia, but they might also be the occupants of East Prussia and Courland; as they probably were. At the present time the English district of Northumberland begins at the Tyne. In the time of Alfred it began at the Humber, as its name denotes.

(7) *The FINN supposed to have been the latest amongst the great nations who formed the population of Europe*—*The (so-called) Fin Hypothesis*—Since this was written a great change has come over the doctrine concerning the Finns, a change which has given moderate and unexpected prominence to an otherwise obscure population. By *Fin* is meant not only the Finlander of Finland, but a great deal more. All the populations whose languages belong to the same class are, in the eyes of the ethnologist, Finns. Now these languages are the following—

The Lap of the Laplanders—That the Laps were Finns would never have been doubted had it not been for the difference between the two populations in respect to their physical conformation. This was considered sufficiently great to indicate the propriety of great caution in the comparison of the other signs of ethnological affinity. And, consequently, it was not until the investigations had become close, minute, and searching, that, in the matter of both grammar and words, the place of the Lap language amongst the other members of the Fin class was unreservedly admitted. The proper Finn has a great number of cases—no less than fifteen. The Lap was long supposed to have no more than eight or nine. Rask, however, shewed that several forms which appeared in Finn as the cases of nouns, could, with a little care, be detected in Lap, under the guise of adverbs. At the present moment, when few languages of equal political and literary unimportance are better known or more carefully studied than the Lap, there is no division of opinion on the question as to their place in the Finn class.

The Magyar of Hungary—The Finn affinities of this interesting language have been doubted, and, by some, they are doubted even now. The objections, however, appear to rest on patriotic rather than scientific grounds, the Magyars

themselves being by no means flattered by a connection with tribes so inferior to themselves in civilization and physical development as the Laplanders. Consequently, affinities of a different character have been set up by more than one Magyar scholar. Sometimes a Cuccasian, at others a Tibotan, pedigree has been claimed. The Fin alliance, however, which was pointed out by two able philologues of the last century—Samovics and Gyarmathi—and which is recognised, though not without a certain amount of reserve, by the author of the *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, is not to be set aside. No competent judge, of other than Magyar origin, denies it, but, on the contrary, all admit it expressly—Klaproth, Adelung, Pichard, etc

The Estonian of Estonia — With this, as with all the forthcoming populations, there is neither doubt nor difficulty. No one has denied their affinities with one another, nor yet their affinities with the Fins of Finland. As a branch of the Estonians, we may add—

The Læfs, a population of about 2,100 souls. They gave their name to the Government of *Liunia* (*Lief-land*). Nevertheless there are, at the present moment, not above twenty-five or thirty on Lævonian soil. The others are in Courland.

The Vod — These are the descendants of the original occupants of Ingria, a population which, anterior to the Swedish and Russian conquests on the coasts of the Gulph of Finland, joined the Fins of the Duchy of Finland, and the *Rahwas* (for that is their national name) of Estonia. The number of Vod is about 5,000.

The Permyans and Zimianians, of the Governments of Vologda and Permian.

The Voliaks, of the Governments of Viatka, Kazan, etc.

The Tsherevits, of the Governments of Viatka, Kazan, Kostroma, Nizhni-novogorod, Orenburg, and Perm.

The Mordvians, of the Governments of Astrakhan, Kazan, etc.

The Tshuwash, of the Governments of Kazan, Simbirsk, etc.

All these, belonging to Russia in Europe, form but part of the stock of the great Finn family, which contains in Asia—

The Voguls, of the Uralian range, and

The Ostiaks, of the drainage of Obi.

The *Samoyed*, *Yeniseian*, and *Yukagiri* languages are additions to the Finn family of recent origin. All the other members have

been long recognised. It may be added that the stock itself is as often called *Ugrian* as *Fin*.

Out of the *Fin* stock of languages grew what may be called the *Fin hypothesis*. It originated (I believe) with Arndt, but was developed and promulgated by Rask. It was adopted at once by the Scandinavian philologues and ethnologists, to whose speculations it has given a character by which they are honorably distinguished. It has given boldness and comprehensiveness, at the very least. In his first edition of the *English Language*, the present writer adopted it, along with more than one other doctrine, which he has since found reason either to modify or abandon. He believes, too, that, thus adopted, it found its way into England for the first time. The German school appears to recognise it generally. In France and America it has made less way. Dr Pichard, in his second edition of the *Natural History of Man*, adopts it, using, however, the term *Allophylian* instead of *Fin* or *Ugrian*. In the work before us (as we see) he does not seem to be aware of it.

The *Fin hypothesis* is closely connected with the Eastern origin of the Indo-Europeans, the Eastern origin of the Indo-Europeans being essential to its validity. Without the *Fin hypothesis*, the Eastern origin, etc., is possible, but, without the Eastern origin, there is no *Fin hypothesis*. This helps us on towards an anticipation of its nature.

If the Indo-Europeans came from the East, and if they were not the very first occupants of the West, some one must have been in Europe before them. When they were on the Indus, the Tigris, and the Euphrates, others must have been on the Rhine, the Danube, and the Rhone, possibly on the Thames, possibly on the Ebro and the Guadalquivir. More than this—Asia is a large area, and it is not from any part of it indifferently that this hypothesis brings the Indo-Europeans. They were not Siberians nor Chinese, possibly they were at one time foreign to even certain parts of India. There are in India impracticable forests, mountains, and jungles. Besides this, India stretches far southwards, so that a population might easily be occupant of the Ganges and Indus without reaching Cape Comorin—possibly without having got south of the Nerbudda, Godavery, or Kistna rivers.

Be this as it may, there was a vast area which, at one time, was neither uninhabited, nor yet inhabited by Indo-Europeans.

Who *did* occupy it? By the hypothesis of Arndt and Rask, the Fins. Hence the Fin hypothesis.

It is, of course, not meant by this that the several populations which thus resided aboriginally in the plains of Sarmatia, the mountains of Italy and Spain, the islands of Britain, the steppes of Siberia, and the inaccessible extremities of the Indian Peninsula—to say nothing of China and Siam—were Fins in the way that the true members of the stock in its narrower (and proper) sense were Fins. It is merely meant that they were more related to each other than they were to either the Indo-Europeans or any other recognised class.

Nevertheless, the group was one of formidable dimensions. First, it contained populations in the south and west of Europe, who, being other than Indo-European, took the appearance of being aboriginal. Some of them were extinct. Others, however, survived. The Basques of the Pyrenees did this. So did the Albanians of Albania. These survived, because the inaccessible nature of their areas had preserved them from the fate of their congeners in Gaul, Germany, Italy, Greece, and Sarmatia. They survived, because woods and mountains had been to them what the cold of the Arctic Circle had been to the Laps, and his swamps and fens to the Finlander. They survived to suggest to ethnologists of the nineteenth century a time (long anterior to the dawn of history) when a complex series of kindred populations was continuously spread over all Europe, from Albania to Finland, from Spain to Scandinavia—a series of populations now broken up and separated.

Secondly, it contained populations to the north and west of the original home of the Indo-European, for it seems to have been in the direction of Europe, rather than in that of either China or Siberia, that the great hypothetical stream of the Indo-European population rolled itself. These were the Chinese and the tribes of Siberia.

Thirdly, it contained those populations of India itself, whose language betokened a different origin from that of the populations whose ancestors spoke Sanskrit. These were the nations of the Dekhan, and most of the hill-tribes.

In this way the Fin hypothesis pointed to a time when a small portion of Asia, destined to give origin to the Sarmatian, German, Latin, and Greek conquerors of Europe, as well as to those occupants of Hindostan who spoke the Sanskrit language,

was surrounded by a population destined to give way to the stronger, nobler, and more dominant tribes that issued therefrom—these latter agreeing with each other, more or less, in language and other characteristics. I say other characteristics, because the fact of their having so generally given way before their invaders went for one. Neither was it long before anatomists discovered that the crania from the very oldest *tumuli* of Britain, Gaul, and Germany, were Lap or Fin in form, and, as such, indicative of a population other and earlier than the present Indo Europeans.

We may well then speak of the Fin hypothesis. There are many illustrations of it, both in history and philology. As a general rule, the populations which it claimed were of slight historical importance. Two only out of the whole class were rulers on the face of the earth—the Ottoman Turks and the Chinese, and there are plenty of predictions about *them*.

If a philologue were also a geologist, he had, in the primary and secondary formations, an apt illustration of the two great layers of population in Europe. There was the Fin substratum, once ubiquitous and continuous, but now overlaid by more recent strata, yet showing itself, after the fashion of granite mountains, in isolated areas.

So much in the way of illustration of the Fin hypothesis. It was the idea of a man of great genius, and it was eminently suggestive to others. It taught philologues where to look for the congeners of languages apparently isolated. When the nearest ally of the Bask of the Pyrenees was the Lap of Lapland, and when one of its strongest contrasts was to be found in the French and Spanish, with which it was in immediate geographical contact, it was easy to see that similar relations might exist elsewhere. Pass over the area into which a foreign tongue has intruded, and look for affinities on the spot where the older tongue reappears. This was the rule suggested, and it was a rule of great value, and rich in results.

If the Fin hypothesis were even more exceptionable as a matter of fact than it really is, its promulgation would, nevertheless, have been a benefit to ethnographical philology.

Is it then wrong as a matter of fact? The present writer commits himself to the doctrine that it is wrong. Why? Because he holds against the Eastern origin of the Indo-Europeans.

The reasons for this doctrine are given in the sequel, the

object of the present note being to explain the nature of the hypothesis in question, and to show its relation to the cognate hypothesis as to the Eastern origin, etc

If the Indo-Europeans have originated in Europe, the original continuity of the Fin area can no longer be maintained

That the true Fin area, however, at one time was much wider than it is now, is certain This, however, is a mere question of degree

The Slavonians are generally supposed to have been the latest amongst the great nations who formed the populations of Europe — The doctrine that the Slavonians are amongst the latest emigrants into Europe, is part and parcel of the Indo-European hypothesis Of all the Indo-Europeans they are the most eastern In this we find a plausible reason for believing them to be the newest comers

Again, it is safe to say that an opinion to the effect that the Slavonic tongues and the Sanskrit are not merely allied to each other, but *more closely allied* than the other members of their class, is gaining ground If so, what more natural than to make the Russian and Polish, etc., the most Asiatic of the tongues of Europe?

The objections that lie against this view, are to be found further on

In the way of detail, an exception may be taken to the statement concerning the Rhoxolani

They are not mentioned, *eo nomine*, by Herodotus

Herodotus may, or may not, in describing certain populations of Scythia and Sarmatia, have described Rhoxolani There is no evidence, however, of his having done so

Rhoxolani is probably a Fin word, but not certainly The fact of the termination in *n* being a singular form, is somewhat against it *Ruotolainen* = a Russian, the word for Russians being *Ruotolaiset* So also—

SINGULAR

Suomalainen = a Fin

Hämäläinen = a Fin

PLURAL

Suomalaiset = Fins

Hämaalaiset = Fins

Rhoxolani is a word that a Fin might apply to the Russians But he might also apply it to populations other than Russian In fact, at the present moment, he actually does apply it to the Swedes

Rhoxolani, even if it be a Fin gloss, need not be so to the

whole extent of the word. The root *Rhor-* (*Ruots-*, *Ross-*) may belong to one language, the termination *-lan* to another.

Supposing it, however, to be wholly Fin, all that the existence of the word really proves is — that, in the time of Strabo, certain Fins, or Ugrians, were sufficiently near those portions of the coasts of the Black Sea that the Greeks visited, for words belonging to their language to reach the informants of either Strabo or his authorities. More than this we cannot legitimately get. This, however, is of value. It gives a fact connected with the southern extension of the Fin area in the first century A.D.

Further remarks on this word may be found in the author's *Native Races of the Russian Empire*, p. 223.

As for the historical details of the Rhoxolani, they "first appear about a century before Christ, when they were found occupying the steppes between the *Dnieper* and the *Don*. Afterwards, some of them made their footing in Dacia, and behind the Carpathians. Strabo has told the story of the defeat of the Roxolani and their leader, Iasius, by Diophantus, the general of Mithridates, and takes the opportunity of describing some of their manners, which resembled those of the Sarmatian stock to which they belonged. Tacitus mentions another defeat of this people, when making an incursion into Moesia during Otho's short lease of power. From the inscription which records the honours paid to Plautius Silvanus, it appears that they were also defeated by him. Hadrian, who kept their frontier quiet by subsidising the needy tribes, when they complained about the payment, came to terms with their king. When the rising broke out among the Sarmatian, German, and Scythian tribes, from the Rhine to the Tanais, in the reign of M. Aurelius, the Rhoxolani were included in the number. With the incursions of the Goths, the name of the Roxolani almost disappears." Dr W. Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, *see* ROXOLANI.

(8) *The Armenian and Ossete considered to be Indo-European — The Zend and Persian forms of speech* — The Zend, or language of the Zoroastrian Scriptures, is, undoubtedly, a language belonging to the same class with the Sanskrit, to which it is closely allied. This is a point upon which there is neither doubt nor shadow of doubt. The relations, however, of the Zend to the modern Persian are by no means equally decided. General opinion is

in favour of them. There are several points, however, which require settlement before the matter is decided. The Zend is a language rich in inflections. The modern Persian has as few as the English. Hence the inference that it stands in the same relation to the language of the Zendavesta as the English does to the Anglo-Saxon, the Italian to the Latin, etc. It is possible, however, that this resemblance may be accidental. Languages may be destitute of inflection for two reasons. Previously existing inflections may have been lost, or no inflection may ever have been developed. This is the case with the Chinese. If the Greek had been introduced into China a thousand years ago, if Greek inscriptions were common in China, if the old Chinese ritual were Greek, and, finally, if during the period of Greek occupancy a great percentage of Greek words had been taken up into the Chinese tongue, the latter would wear the appearance of being a derivative of the former, which it is not.

Now I am not aware that the possibility of the non-inflectional character of the modern Persian being due to non-development rather than to loss has ever been recognised. At any rate, the alternative suggested by the foregoing remarks has never been closely investigated. Hence the deduction of the modern Persian from the Zend requires more evidence than it has found.

The Armenian is but little known to comparative philologues. It is known to many learned Armenians, but none of these are ethnological critics. Its place in the Indo-European class has, therefore, been taken upon trust. A few points of resemblance have been adduced. So have certain statements in the way of external testimony.

The Armenian verb-substantive runs *yem, yes, yest*, giving forms remarkably like *sum, es, est*, a fact noticed by Muller in his history of the Dorians, wherein considerable prominence is given to this language. There is also the word *eur* = $\pi\upsilon\rho$ = *fire*.

Again—in Klaproth's *Asia Polyglotta*, a vast number of words are common to the Armenian and to the other Indo-European tongues. We must remember, however, that, in that work, the term Indo-European (Indo Germanic) comprises the Persian, to which exceptions have been, and the Ossete, to which exceptions will be, taken.

As to the forms in *m*, they are common in languages remote

from the Indo-European. At the same time, the forms in question must be admitted to be favourable to the view they are meant to support.

The chief objection against the Armenian being Indo-European lies in the fact of its having affinities with more than one of the languages of Caucasus and the neighbouring countries, which no legitimate classification has ever made, or is likely to make, Indo-European.

More upon this point will be said in the sequel.

The Ossete is Indo-European much as the Armenian is. It has a great number of words common to that language and the Persian—words which make the tongue in which they appear Indo-European, provided the other languages are so.

The Ossete verbs form their persons after the fashion of the Armenian—a fashion which is Latin, Greek, English, etc. But (as aforesaid) the letter *m* as the sign of the first person is common all the world over, the similarity in the other persons being less decided.

On the other hand, many proper Slavonic words appear in the Ossete.

Mutatis mutandis, the statement just made concerning the Armenian applies here. The Ossete cannot be disconnected from the other tongues of its neighbourhood. Be it so. Why may not they be Indo-European? This is an alternative that not only may be legitimately proposed, but it is one which has actually been adopted and maintained. Professor Bopp has devoted more than one paper to proving that the Georgian is what the Ossete is, the latter being Indo-European.

The present writer agrees with the former part of this line of argument, denying the latter. In other words, he reverses the doctrine. The Ossete is what the Georgian is, i. e. other than Indo-European.

For several reasons the Ossete has commanded an extraordinary amount of attention. Its (real or supposed) Indo-European character is one point of interest. The native name is another. This is *Irôn*. So the Ossetes call themselves, a word which points to Iran or Persia, and this raises the ideas connected with the important term Laman. A doctrine, enunciated by Klaproth, has helped to magnify it. It is to the effect that the Irôn represent the ancient Medes, a colony of whom was placed in Caucasus. Agara, the same Irôn were descendants of

the Alani. Reasons for considering all this as unsound have been given by the present writer elsewhere.

The present Irôn has been but litely reduced to writing. Hence, whilst the Armenian has one native alphabet and the Georgian another, the Ossete is written in Russian characters—the Ossete tribes being Christianized and Russianized.

They are mountaineers of the central parts of Caucasus. A line drawn north of Tiflis leads into their country.

There are, at least, two dialects of their language, which has been illustrated by Klaproth in the *Asia Polyglotta*, by Rosen in a special dissertation, and by Sjögren, to whom the publication of an Irôn dictionary (in the Russian letters aforesaid) is due.

(9) *Adelung and Murray have regarded the Celtic as a branch of the Indo-European stock*—This must not be interpreted to mean that either of the writers just named make either the Keltic or anything else Indo-European *eo nomine*.

Neither the term *Indo-Germanic* nor *Indo-European* is used by Adelung. So far as the Keltic is subordinated to any higher denomination it is *European*—but *European* in the Mithridates is merely a geographical term, meaning *spoken in Europe*. The Bask is in the same category. In the order of arrangement it precedes the Keltic, the German following it.

The sections on the Keltic are far from the soundest parts of the Mithridates, the most exceptional portions of them being the parts that relate to the British branch.

In the first volume published in 1809, no account is given of the Manx. In the supplementary volume of 1819, this omission is rectified.

The word Kelt, itself, is taken by Adelung as it is found in the Latin and Greek writers, Gaul being their original Keltic seat, Italy, Pannonia, and Asia Minor, as well as the British Isles, being parts to which its occupants spread themselves. In Gaul, however, their area is limited. The Aquitanians confine them on the south, the Ligurians on the south-east. All this is as the classical writers make it.

The Belgæ the author makes Kelto-Germans, and connects them with the Cimbrî, the doctrine running thus—

That part of northern Gaul which Cæsar gave to the Belgæ, though originally Keltic, came to be invaded by certain tribes from Germany. These styled themselves *Kimri*, or, as the

Romans wrote the word, *Cimbri*. They settled themselves in Gaul as an aristocracy amongst a population whom they reduced, with whom they intermarried, and into whose language they infused so considerable a tincture of their own, as to make the result a mixed or hybrid form of speech. This was the Belgic, for Belgæ was the name by which the Gauls designated the Cimbri.

Some time—perhaps not very long—before the time of Cæsar, these Belgic Cimbri, German in some points, Kelt in others, invaded Britain, until then an Erse or Gaelic country, and occupied certain portions thereof, until (themselves invaded by the Romans), they retired to Wales, and thence to Brittany.

If so, the *whole* of the British Isles was originally Gaelic. If so, the language of Southern and Central Gaul was, more or less, Gaelic also. If so, the so-called British branch of the Keltic stock has no existence as a separate substantive form of speech, being merely a mixture. If so, the Belgic, Kimbri, Cambrian, or whatever else it may be in the way of name, is, in reality, Kelto-German rather than pure Kelt.

And this is what the writer actually makes it, the third section of the second part being headed "*Keltisch-Germanischer oder Kimbrischer Sprachstamm*."

SECTION III

Of the Celtic dialects extant—Modes of orthography—Authorities

It may be doubted whether the term *Celtic languages* is the most proper epithet for the class of idioms generally designated, and which I shall continue, in compliance with custom, to designate by that name. The Celts, properly so called, were a people of Gaul. Of their language we have no undoubted specimen. There are, indeed, strong grounds for believing that it was a kindred tongue with the dialects of the British isles, but it would be better to take the general name of a whole class of languages from something that actually remains.

There are six dialects of the language termed Celtic which may be said to survive, as five are still spoken, and one of them, viz, the Cornish, is sufficiently preserved in books. These six dialects are, the Welsh, the Cornish, the Armorican, the Irish or Erse, the Gaelic or Highland-Scottish, and the Manx. The three former are relics of the idiom of the ancient Britons; the three latter, of that spoken by the inhabitants of Ireland. We have historical evidence^a that the Britons of Armorica,

^a Chiefly in the works of Gregory of Tours and Eginhardt. I have surveyed the evidence on this subject in my *Researches into the Physical History of Mankind*.

the Britanni of Gregory of Tours, emigrated from Britain, through the whole extent ⁽¹⁰⁾ of which, with the exception of some parts of the southern coast, where the Belgæ from Gaul had settled, it is probable that one language prevailed at the era of the Roman conquest.^b Of this language the three dialects of Wales, Cornwall, and Lower Brittany are descendants. Of the Irish language, the Scottish Gaelic is a slight modification. the Manks differs more considerably, and it is probable that the Isle of Man had inhabitants from this branch of the Celtic stock long before the emigration of the Scots from Ireland to the coast of Argyle.

I shall in general take the Welsh as a specimen of the Britannie dialects, and the Eise, or old Irish, as an example of the other class, but I shall add occasionally words or forms which exist in the subordinate dialects, and are lost, or have become less distinct, in either of the principal ones.

I have experienced some difficulty in adopting a regular method in the orthography of Celtic words. The modern system of representing consonants in the Welsh and the Eise languages is so remote from the usage of other tongues, that I have thought it advisable to deviate from it in some instances. In the former I have occasionally followed the orthography of Edward Lhuyd, in preference to that which is sanctioned by the authority of the Welsh

^b That the Caledonians had this language has been proved by Chalmers and Ritson.

translators of the Bible. The grounds for this preference will appear obviously in the particular instances in which it has been made, to those who are acquainted with the Welsh language and its pronunciation, and other readers will have no reason to complain of a method which will guide them to the proper utterance of words, when it would otherwise have escaped them. In the Irish orthography, which can scarcely be said to have any fixed standard, I have followed the best authorities within my reach. In the orthography of Sanskrit words I have deviated but little from the system proposed by Sir William Jones. In some few instances, however, which will be obvious to those who are acquainted with that method, I have endeavoured to approach more nearly to the habit of our own language.*

* I have followed Mr. Yates in substituting for the four Sanskrit diphthongs, ए, ऐ, औ, औ, the following, *ai, oi, o, au*. There being some uncertainty as to the exact pronunciation of vowels in ancient languages, it seems allowable to use those vowels as representatives of each other, which in fact generally are found in corresponding words, provided this method is not used in such a manner as to produce an appearance of resemblance in words which are not in reality cognate.

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NOTES TO SECTION III

(10) *Britons of Armorica* —The doctrine that the Bretons of Armorica are descendants from certain Britons of Britain, who, at the break-up of the Roman authority in the island, passed over to Armorica, has undergone some remarkable changes. The external evidence to the fact is insufficient. Eginhardt wrote more than four hundred years after the date assigned to the event, Bede, who is not mentioned in the text, three hundred. Gregory of Tours lived nearer to the period in question. He also lived closer to the area upon which the migration was made. Nevertheless, his statement dates more than a century after its epoch.

Practically, then, there is no satisfactory testimony at all. More than this, there are special reasons for distrusting the evidence we have. The writer who knew that on the two sides of the British Channel one and the same language was spoken, and that in both cases this language was British, would have been either far behind or far before his contemporaries, had he failed to account for it by a migration. Either the Welsh would come from Armorica, or the Armoricans from Wales.

I hold, then, that what we are in the habit of looking upon as testimony, is no testimony at all, but only so much inference.

If so, and if there were no Welsh conquest of Brittany, the Breton, as it is now spoken, represents the ancient language of Gaul—Brittany being a portion of that country that maintained its language against the Romans, just as Wales did in Britain,

both being impracticable, and, comparatively speaking, inaccessible districts

There is, however, one difficulty connected with this view, a difficulty I by no means undervalue. Neither (as we shall see anon) have others

The best evidence to the amount of likeness or difference between the Welsh and Breton, is to the following effect. Let two *uneducated* individuals, one a Welshman, and the other a Breton, converse, and it is nearly certain that they shall be mutually unintelligible, especially if either be at all provincial in the utterance, or the subject require an admixture of French words on one side, or English on the other. In this case, the languages are *two*.

Let, however, two educated men, prepared for finding similarities, and framing their language accordingly, partly by choosing a simple subject, and partly by omitting foreign words, hold intercourse, and the languages become *one*, i.e. the two speakers can mutually understand each other.

Such being the case, the likeness between the two tongues becomes apparent. It is greater, however, than what it should be if the languages were separated from each other for so long a period as the doctrine that the Breton is of Gallic origin requires. On the other hand, it is, there or thereabouts, the amount of difference that the fourteen hundred years between the expulsion of the Romans from Britain and the present time would make probable. In short, if the Bretons and Welsh were separated from one another *ab initio*, the difference should be greater than it is.

On the other hand, languages change at different rates—some quickly, some slowly, some very slowly. Why may not the Breton and Welsh have been the slowest amongst the slow?

A very clear and critical investigator of these matters, ignoring the so-called evidence that deduces the Bretons from Wales, and, at the same time, thoroughly recognising the complications engendered by the over-great likeness between the Welsh and Armorican, has suggested a reversal of the old doctrine, and derived the Welsh from Brittany. England he believes to have been, under the dominion of the Romans, wholly Roman. Wales he believes to have been as Roman as England. Both he believes to have been deserted, or, at least, left defenceless. Both he believes to have been ravaged, and, subsequently,

occupied by practical invaders from the continent Of these, however, he makes the Angles only a portion *They* occupied the eastern and northern counties Meanwhile, the Bretons of Armorica reduced Wales

For the fuller exposition of this view, see *Mr Wright in Transactions of the Historical Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, vol viii

SUPPLEMENTARY CHAPTER

THE KELTIC NATIONS OF ANTIQUITY

SECTION I

THE TERM KELITIC—GAIATIL AND GATTI

THE author who first uses the word *Kelt* is Herodotus, after whose time the term appears as often as the subject gives us reason to expect it in the Greek writers in general—in the Greek, but not in the Latin. The Latins used another term, not, indeed, to the absolute exclusion of the word *Celtæ*, but still another term. *Celtæ* was the *Greek* name. The *Latin* name was *Galli*. To what population and what area did the Greek term apply? This is a point which requires close consideration. The Kelts of Herodotus belonged to the Spanish Peninsula. This is not the current doctrine. It is the inference, however, from the text

“The river Ister runs through the whole of Europe, beginning with the Kelts and at the city of Pyrene.” Without going into the details of this passage, we may safely say that it points to Spain.

“The Kelts, next to (*μετά*) the Kynetai, are the most western population of Europe.”—“The Kelts are frontagers to the Kynetai, who are the most western population of Europe.” This does the same.

“The Kelts are beyond the Pillars of Hercules.” Considering the great extent to which maritime enterprise preceded overland explorations, we may reasonably suppose that a coasting voyage is implied in the words, “beyond the Pillars of

Hercules" If so, we must look for the Kelts of Herodotus somewhere on the sea-coast to the west of the Straits of Gibraltar Whether they are to be sought in the *extreme* west of Spain or Portugal is uncertain, since it is uncertain who the Kynetai were They may have been occupants of the continent, as the word "frontager to the Kynetai" (*ὀμοπόρουσι*) imply But they may also have been Irish islanders—these being, truly and actually, the most western population of Europe Or the geography may, altogether, be too loose to justify us in such *minutiae* as the exact relations between the Kelts and Kynetai imply

Be this as it may, the most western area beyond the Pillars of Hercules, which is not also the extreme western part of Europe, is the district between the rivers Guadalquivir and Guadiana, or the western portion of Andalusia Let us say that it is Seville and part of Algarve, and then ask how far this position coincides with the accounts of the later geographers

It coincides most closely Strabo especially states that the chief population of the Anas (Guadiana) is that of the Keltae (lib iii p 139) "the Anas bends towards the south, defining the Mesopotamia, of which the Keltae are the chief occupants"

Of the other Kelts in Spain and Portugal further notice will be taken hereafter The present remarks merely apply to the origin of the name It seems in Herodotus to mean the Kelts of Strabo, i.e. the Kelts of Spain rather than the Kelts of Gaul

From what language did it reach the informants of Herodotus? From one of three

a It may have been Keltic, i.e. have been taken from the language of the population to which it applied, just as the word *English* is taken from the language of *England*

b Or it may have been Phœnician, i.e. taken from the language of the Phœnician traders with Spain, just as the word *British* is taken from the language of any of the commercial nations who talk of *British* rather than of *English* goods.

c Or it may have been the language of the neighbouring tribes, just as *Saxon* is the *Welsh* name of an Englishman

I think that, in the first instance, at least, it was in the latter predicament If so, who were then neighbours? The Iberians of the eastern part of Spain

The evidence, then, as far as it goes, is in favour of deducing the word *Kelt* from the Iberic

The further we go the more we shall find confirmations of this view. There are Kelts in the north west as well as in the south-west of Spain, about what is called, by Pliny, the Celtic Promontory. Who are the frontagers here? The Iberians of Leon and Asturias, even as the Iberians of Gienada and Cordova were the frontagers of the Keltæ of Seville.

There are Kelt-Iberians in the interjacent districts.

Wherever, then, there is a Spanish Kelt, there is, by his side, a Spanish Iberian to call him *Keltic*. Add to which, that it is the Iberian that lies between him and the classical countries of Rome and Greece, so that it is from the Iberian that the Greeks and Latins get their names for the populations further west, just as it is from England that the Europeans of the continent get the names for Wales and the several parts of Wales.

Again, the name Kelt is *general*. Has it not been applied to three populations? Now, in the earlier periods of their history, nations rarely apply general names to *themselves*. They usually know themselves as so many particular tribes. It is then neighbours who apply to them collective designations.

So much, then, in favor of the name Kelt being Iberic in origin. It may have been the name of *some* of the Kelts, but it was the Iberians who gave it its general import, just as it was the Romans who got the Hellenes called *Greeks*.

It may, also, have been taken by the Greeks from the Phœnicians, rather than from the Iberians direct. Nevertheless, it was from the Iberians that it previously originated.

Can we speculate on its meaning? It looks, at present, as if it meant *western*. It scarcely, however, means this, as we shall soon see.

The Iberians extend along the coast of the Mediterranean (then inland extension need not now be investigated) into France, where, in the parts about the mouth of the Rhone, they come in contact with the Ligurians. The exact details of their frontier are unimportant. Strabo writes that all the parts beyond (i.e. west of) the Rhone, were called Iberia. Scylax writes that on the west of the same river, the Tagyes and Iberes were intermixed (*μυγάδες*).

Of course these Iberians extended to some distance inland, and where their area ended, that of the Gauls began. Now these Gauls are known to the Greeks as *Kelts*, being, at the same

time, the Gauls in the closest geographical contact with the Iberians—those Iberians lying between them and the sea

Such is the history of the word during the time that it retains its original and special sense, during the time that it applies to certain populations of the Spanish Peninsula, and some of the Gauls. So long as it does this, it applies to a population continuous with the Iberians

It is Iberic, then, in its relation to the informants of Herodotus, and Iberic in respect to its general application. Yet it need not be Iberic in origin. The word *Greek* is, to us, a Latin word, yet it is no Latin word in its origin. It is the name of a particular population opposite Italy, and, as such, prominent in the eyes of Italians, so prominent as to supply an Italian name, destined to be diffused over the world, to the Hellenes of Athens, Chios, and elsewhere. Yet the word is only Latin to a certain extent—to the extent that the Latin language generalised and promulgated it.

The same may be the case with the word before us. One of the several frontagers of the Iberians may have called itself Kelt, even as one single population of Hellas called itself Greek, and this one may have supplied a name applicable to all the others.

Was this actually the case? We have seen how far the word is Iberic. Let us now ask how far it is Keltic. Cæsar wrote that the tribes who were separated by the Garonne from the (Iberian) Aquitani were called in Latin *Galli*, in their own language *Celtæ*.

Some Kelts, then, designated themselves thus.

From these the Iberians, and, perhaps, also the Greeks of Marseilles, and the Phœnicians, took the name, and gave it a general application—general enough to apply to certain occupants of the Spanish peninsula in the time of Herodotus, for this amount of generality it must have had.

That it was a geographical term, and used in anything like a technical or scientific sense so early, is improbable.

That it was a general name used by the Kelts themselves, wherever they were, is also unlikely. The Belgians and Britons show no trace of its use.

I submit, then, that the Keltic tribes of Spain were called Kelts because the Iberians, who knew them to belong to a different stock to themselves, and to the same as their frontagers in Gaul,

so called them, and that they so called them because certain Galli with whom they came in contact called themselves so

This is, there or thereabouts, the history of the word *Greek*. A single tribe applied it to itself. The Romans promulgated it.

This, too, is the general history of collective names. Populations know themselves only in their details. It is their *neighbours* who give them the names, which are, at once, distinctive and general.

On this principle it is probable that it was the Kelts who gave the Spaniards the name of Iberians—the Kelts, or, perhaps, the Phenicians. Certainly, not the Iberians themselves.

Is *Keltæ* the same word as *Galatæ*? The fact that the author of the treatise *De Mundo*, attributed to Aristotle, calls the Gulf of Lyons κόλπος Γαλάπκος, is evidence in favor of its being so. And such is the current opinion.

Is *Galatæ* the same word as *Galli*? The fact of the Keltic plurals being formed by the addition of *-at* is evidence, etc.

If so, the roots of the two forms are *Gal-* and *Kel-*, the *-t* being inflexional. This, also, is the usual doctrine.

If so, the promulgators of the word—Iberian, Greek, or Phenician—took the word in its inflected rather than its radical state.

SECTION II

DID ANY POPULATION OTHER THAN KELTIC BEAR THAT NAME, OR
ONE LIKE IT?

A question of great practical importance must now be asked. Were there any populations other than those belonging to the class before us, designated by the name of Kelt? Or were there any called Galli, or Galatæ? Or were there any bearing the name of some Keltic tribe? If there were, it is obvious that false inferences may be drawn, inasmuch as populations connected by name only may pass for being more nearly allied than they really are.

This is a question that should *always* be asked in ethnology—not now and then, but invariably. It is a matter of fact (the explanation of which is foreign to the present notice) that with a very large proportion of ethnological names the phenomenon of repetition independent of connexion appears.

Take, for instance, the name *Cambrian*, or *Kymry*. It is certainly so like the name *Cimmerian*, that, if it were not for the vast geographical interval, the two populations who bear it would be connected. Indeed, by some writers, they are connected. So that the instance in question may be said to prove too much. But they are *Cumbric* in Africa. Will any one connect these with either *Cambrians* or *Cimmerians*, except in respect to the sound of their names?

Take, for instance, *German*. There is a population so called in Spain, and a population with a name nearly identical in more than one part of Asia—*Chaman-ia*, *Chaman-ia*, etc.

Take *Prussia*. Word for word this is as like *Frisia* (*Friesland*) as *Fars* is like *Persia*—a word with which it is identical. Does any one, however, connect *Fries-land* and *Pruss-ia*? We do not now, inasmuch as we know that they differ. But what should we do if we knew nothing but the names? Probably identify them.

What, then, if there be populations as little Keltic as the *Chamanians* are *German*, or as the *Cumbric* are *Cymry*, or as the *Prussians* are *Frisian* or *Persian*, but which, nevertheless, bear names as like the form *Kelt*, etc., as these are to their fellows? We must look closely at them before we draw our inferences. But what if ancient writers have identified them with the true Kelts? In that case we must look closer still.

In few fields of research is this general caution more necessary than in the one before us. The Kelts, certainly, seem to be more than ordinarily ubiquitous. Let us ask whether something of the kind in question may not be the reason for it.

I *Dextro Sueni maris litore Æstiorum gentes alluuntur quibus ritus habitusque Sueiorum, lingua Britannicæ propior. Matrem deam venerantur insigni superstitionis, formas aprorum gestant. Id pro armis omnique tutelâ securum deæ cultorem etiam inter hostes præstat. Rarus feni, frequens fustrum usus. Frumenta ceterosque fructus patientibus, quàm pro solitâ Germanorum inertiâ, laborant. Sed et mare scrutantur, ac soli omnium succinum, quod ipsi glosom vocant, inter cada atque in ipso litore legunt. Nec, quæ natura, quævis ratio gignat, ut barbaris, quæsitum compertumve. Diu quinetiam inter cetera ejectamenta maris jacebat, donec luxuria nostra dedit nomen. ipsis in nullo usu, rude legitur, informe perfertur, pretiumque nitrantes accipiunt. Succum tamen arborum esse intelligas, quid ferrea quædam atque etiam volucra*

*animalia plerumque interlucent, quæ implicata humore, mox dur-
escento materia, cluduntur. Pecundiora igitur nemora lucosque,
sicut Orientis secretis, ubi thura balsamque sudantur, ita Occi-
dentis insulis terrisque inesse crediderim, quæ vicini solis radius
expressa atque liquentia in proximum mare labuntur, ac in tempe-
statum in adversa litora erundant. Si naturam succini admoto igne
tentas, in modum tedæ accenditur, alitque flammam pinguem et
olentem, mox ut in picem resinamve lentescit (Taciti Germ., § 45.)*

What do we infer from this? Some have inferred that the language of the amber-gatherers of East Prussia was actually a Keltic form of speech. But what if *Britannica* mean *Prussian*? Let us see whether it may not do so. The forms of the tenth and eleventh centuries are *Pruzzi*, *Pruci*, and *Prutzei*, showing that the sound was that of *ts*, or *tsh*, or, possibly, even *shtsh* rather than of a simple *-s*, a matter of some importance, as it helps to account for the *t* required to make the root *Pruss-* like the root *Brit-*.

Next comes the fact that we find the word taking an adjectival form in *-en*, in which case the *s* becomes *th*. The substantival forms are *Pruzzi*, *Prussi*, *Pruscia*, *Pruschia*, *Prutzei*, *Prussia*, but the adjectival ones are *Prutheni*, *Pruthenia*, *Pruthenicus*. We are now getting near the form *Britannicus*, and it must be remembered that the form thus similar, is the form almost always used when the language is spoken of—*Lingua Pruthenica*, not *Prussa*.

The root *Russ* undergoes a similar series of transformation—*Russi*, *Russia*, *Ruthenicus*, *Ruthenia*.

All this, however, it may be said, applies to the Latin language, and is, consequently, out of place, the question being whether *Slavonian* forms of the root *Prus-* can become sufficiently like an equivalent modification of the root *Brit-* to create confusion. They can. The Slavonic word which a German would translate by *Brittisc*, and a Roman by *Britannica*, would be *Brit-skaja*, and the similar equivalent to *Pruttisc* and *Pruthenica*, *Prut-skaja*.

How like, and how different, the two adjectives may be, is shown in the following columns —

English	<i>British</i>	<i>Prussian.</i>
Latin	<i>Britannica</i>	<i>Pruthenica.</i>
Anglo-Saxon	<i>Bryttisc</i>	<i>Pryttisce</i>
Slavonic	<i>Britskaja</i>	<i>Prutskaja</i>

But the B has to be accounted for. Why did not Tacitus write *Britannica* if his informants spoke about Pruthenians? This is answered by the following extract, which shows that a *Brut* in Prussia (Pruthenia), as in Britain (Britannia), was the eponymus of the nation—"Duces fuere duo, nempe Brutenus et Wudawutto, quorum alterum scilicet Brutenus sacerdotem crearunt, alterum scilicet Wudawutto in regem elegerunt. Rex Wudawutto duodecim liberos masculos habebat, quorum nomina fuerunt Latpho, Saimo, Sudo, Naidio, Scalawo, Natango, Batho, Galindo, Warmo, Hoggo, Pomeszo, Chelmo. Warmo nonus filius Wudawutti, a quo Warmia dicta, reliquit uxorem Arma, unde Ermelandt."

II. Nec minus valent retro Marsigni, Gothini, Osi, Buru-terga Marcomannorum, Quadorumque claudunt e quibus Marsigni, et Buru sermone cultuque Suevos referunt. Gothinos Gallica, Oros Pannonica lingua conigit, non esse Germanos, et quod tributa patiuntur partem tributorum Sarmatae, partem Quadi, ut alienigenis, imponunt. Gothini quod magis pudeat, et ferrum effodiunt omnesque hi populi pauca campestrium, ceterum saltus et vertices montium jugumque insederunt (*Tacit Germ.*, § 43.)

What do we infer from this? Many have inferred that the language is Gallic, after the fashion of the language of Gaul. I do not, at present, say that it is not so. I only require reasons for making the undoubtedly Slavonic name of Halicz, or Gallicia, the probable locality for the *Gallica Lingua* of the Gothini other than Slavonic in origin. If these cannot be given, we must recognize the likelihood of there being Slavonic Galatæ, as well as Celtic.

The application of this will appear more than once (indeed it will appear prominently) in the sequel.

SECTION III

PASTERN ORIGIN OF THE KELTS'—HOW FAR REAL—HOW FAR NECESSARY TO THE MAIN QUESTION OF THE PRESENT TREATISE

THE Eastern Origin of the Celtic Nations is the title of the work before us. It is one, however, which requires a preliminary notice. In one sense, and with one school of ethnologists, the statement that the Kelts are of Eastern origin is little more than a truism.

Out of the vast proportion of investigators who assign to the whole of the human race one common origin, there are few who place the area of that common origin, either in Europe or America, still less in Australia or Polynesia. Add to this that *very* few indeed have ever put in a claim for Africa being the birthplace of mankind.

Such being the case, it is clear that, in the minds of many, all nations whatever are of Eastern origin—the Tasmanians, Polynesians, and Laplanders, as well as the Kelts, the Kelts as well as the Laplanders, Polynesians, or Tasmanians.

An Eastern origin of this kind, indirect and remote, is not the kind of Eastern origin upon which great ethnologists connect the history of any particular population. An Eastern origin of this kind is general, not to say universal, and its discussion forms part of general rather than special ethnology.

Neither is the Eastern origin of the present treatise an origin belonging to the historic period. It is not one like the Eastern (or British origin) of the present Americans. It is more general, indirect, and remote than this.

In arguing that the Kelts were of Eastern origin, Dr Prichard meant this—viz. that they were in the same predicament with certain other nations, to whom, by universal consent (or nearly so), an Eastern origin was attributed, these nations being those belonging to the Gothic (or German), the Slavonic, the Lithuanic, the Greek, the Latin, and Sanskrit groups. That these formed a class was certain. It was as certain, too, as all but universal consent could make it, that they formed a class of Eastern origin. But it was not certain that to this class the Kelts belonged. Whether they did so or not, Dr Prichard inquired, and, after inquiry, decided the question in the affirmative.

According to the views then and now generally entertained, this was to bring the Kelts from Asia, as well as to enlarge the previously constituted class, a class originally called *Indo-Germanic*, because its most Eastern member, represented by the Sanskrit, or ancient literary language of India, was on the Indus, and its most western on the Rhine. On these grounds, the name, though awkwardly compounded, was admitted. The admission, however, of the Kelts, effected a change. Instead of *Indo-Germanic*, *Indo-European* became the word, and so it remains to this day.

It is clear that, in the question under notice, there are two

elements Put in the form of syllogism, the reasoning runs thus —

All the Indo-European languages are of Eastern origin,
The Keltic languages are Indo-European,
therefore

The Keltic languages are of Eastern origin

Of these two premisses, it is the first that gives the title to the work before us, the second which constitutes its contents

Now there is something inconvenient in this, something inconvenient, because it is not the Eastern origin for which Dr Prichard is more especially responsible Current opinion and common consent are responsible for this Dr Prichard's great service to philology and ethnography consists in his showing that the Keltic languages are Indo-European

As long as the two statements are, for all practical purposes, identical, the title-page is unexceptionable But what if the major premiss be denied? what if the Eastern origin of the Indo-European populations be doubted? In such a case there is a kind of antagonism between the name of the work before us, and its contents

Whether this be the case or not, will be seen in the sequel

Meanwhile, it will be advisable to consider the facts implied by the title-page as accidental to the main subject, from which (if need be) they may be separated without materially touching the validity of proofs brought to bear upon it The Kelts may have originated in Wales or Ireland, and yet, in their relations to the other populations of Europe, be all that the forthcoming dissertation makes them

Such is the Eastern origin connected with the term Indo-European

But it is not the only one

Long before the first investigator of the ancient language of India had discovered that it contained European elements, long before either the terms Indo-European or Indo-Germanic had come into existence, or even embryo, there were writers who talked and wrote about the Eastern origin of either all the Kelts or of some of them Generally, however, it was only of some of them Of the Asiatic extraction of the Welsh, Cornishmen, and Britons, little was said, and that little applied to their ultimate and remote origin, rather than to any special migration

from Asia to Europe. With the Irish, however, it was far different. Writer upon writer asserted for them an origin from Egypt, Persia, Palestine, or Phenicia—especially from Phenicia. That this view differed, *toto cælo*, from the present doctrine, is clear. The Phenicians were what the Hebrews were, and the Hebrews were what is called Semitic, the Semitic class of languages being contrasted with the Indo-European, rather than compared with.

The minute details of the history of opinion on this matter I am unable to give. I think that, in the first instance, the extent to which the Hebrew language, on the one side, and the Keltic tongues, on the other, practised the initial permutation of letters in their grammatical formations, may have had something to do with suggesting the comparison. Then there were certain habits and superstitions amongst the Kelts which put the comparative mythologist in mind of certain things Semitic, *e.g.* the Bel-tane, or midsummer-day fire of the Highlands of Scotland, incontinently got compared with fire-worship of the Phenician Baal. Then there were the words Bearla Fene, or Language of Fine (whatever that might be), of the Irish annals, a term which was supposed to be well translated by Lingua Pæna, or Lingua Pænica—the language of Phenicia, or the Phenician colony of Carthage.

Then there was the *míleadh* = *soldier*. Out of this, according to Dr Meyer, arose the doctrine that certain of the oldest Irish families came from Miletus, whence the current term *Milesian*, as applied to the most aristocratic portions of the Irish aristocracy.

When this doctrine had taken firm root, it ran out luxuriantly into wide branches, loose foliage, and but little sound or ripe fruit. The archaeologists connected the Round Towers with Asia and the worship of Baal.

Lastly came the comments upon the Carthaginian text in the *Pænulus* of Plautus. Were not these Punic? and was not Punic the *Bearla Fene*? Aylett Sammes, was (I believe) the first who suggested that, even at the present time, a meaning could be found for it in the modern Irish, and a meaning, accordingly, *was* found. Whether this was the meaning of the *Dramatis Personæ* of Plautus was another matter. It was not the meaning that Bochart and others found for it in the true and undoubted Hebrew. Neither were the words divided in the same way. Neither was the absolute text of the MS rigidly adhered

to In short a good deal of license was allowed, and the result was as follows —

Emendated and interpreted by Bochart, the ten first lines of a speech in Act v s 1, stand thus —

- 1 N'yth ulonim y ulonuth sicor ith jismaron sith
- 2 Chy-milichai jythmu mitshi i mittebarum ischi
- 3 Iaphore meth yth beni ith jad adi ubimithai
- 4 Birur rob syllohom ulonim ubymis-yrtohom
- 5 Bythtym moth ymoth othi helech Antidamarchon
- 6 Ys sulchi brym tyel yth chuli schontam liphul
- 7 Uth bui uny dithui thum nocuth nu' Agorastocles
- 8 Ythem aucti hy chyr sacly chor, sith naso
- 9 Bimui id chi lu huli gubulum lachul thym
- 10 Body aly thura yun' yss' immoncon lu sim—

The same, in Hebrew characters

- 1 נא את עליונים ועליונות שכורת יסמכון זאת :
- 2 כי מלכי נתמו ; מצליח מדבריהם עסקי :
- 3 לפורקנת את בני את יר ערי ובנותי :
- 4 בריח רב שלהם עליונים ובמשורתהם :
- 5 בטרם מות חנות אותי הלך אנתידתמרכון :
- 6 איש שירעלי : ברם טפל את חילי שכינתם לאפל :
- 7 את בן אמיץ דבור תם נקוט נזה אגורסטוקלים .
- 8 חותם חנותי הוא כיור שאלי חוק זאת נושא :
- 9 ביני עד כי לו האלה גבולים לשבת תם :
- 10 בואדי עלי חרע אנא ; הנו אשאל אם מנכר לו שם .

Six lines following these were determined to be *Liby-Phœnician*, or the language of the native Africans in the neighbourhood of Carthage, mixed with Punic These, it was stated, had the same meaning with the ten lines in Carthaginian

The following lines of Plautus have, by all commentators, been viewed in the same light, viz as the Latin version of the speech of the Carthaginian

- 1 Deos Measque veneror, qui hanc urbem colunt, "
- 2 Ut, quod de me re huc veni, ite venerim
- 3 Measque huc ut gnatas, et mei fratris filium
- 4 Reperire me sinitis Di vestram fidem !
- 5 Quæ mihi surruptæ sunt, et fratris filium
- 6 Sed hic mihi antichæ hospes Antidamas fuit
- 7 Eum fecisse aiunt, sibi quod faciendum fuit
- 8 Ejus filium hic esse prædicant Agorastoclem
- 9 Deum hospitalem et tæsseram mecum fero
- 10 In hæc habitare monstratum est regionibus
- 11 Hos percontabor, qui hæc egrediuntur foras

Guided by the metrical *paraphrase* of the original author, Bochart laid before the scholars of his time a Latin version, of which the following is an English translation

Close Translation of Bochart's Latin Version

- 1 I ask the Gods and Goddesses that preside over this city,
- 2 That my plans may be fulfilled —May my business prosper under their guidance!
- 3 The release of my son and my daughters from the hands of a robber
- 4 May the Gods grant this, through the mighty spirit that is in them, and by their providence!
- 5 Before his death, Antidamarchus used to sojourn with me,
- 6 A man intimate with me but he has joined the ranks of those whose dwelling is in darkness (the dead)
- 7 There is a general report that his son has here taken his abode, viz Agorastocles
- 8 The token (tally) of my claim to hospitality is a carved tablet, the sculpture whereof is my God This I carry
- 9 A witness has informed me that he lives in this neighbourhood
- 10 Somebody comes this way through the gate Behold him I'll ask him whether he knows the name

With this compare or contrast—

The Gaelic Version

- 1 N'iaith all o nimh uath lonnaithe soeruidhe me comsith
- 2 Chimi lach chuinnigh! munni is toil, muicht beiridh rir mo seith
- 3 Lomhtha can ati bi mithe ad cadan beanaithe
- 4 Bior nar ob siladh umhal o nimh! ibhim i trotha!
- 5 Beith lom! mo thime noctaithe, neil ach tan ti daisi mac coimne
- 6 Is i de leabhram tafach leth, chi las con teampulbh ullu
- 7 Ueh bin nim i is de beaitinn a eomhannithe Agorastocles!
- 8 Itche mana ith i chithusi, leiceath sith nora!
- 9 Buaine na rad cheile ile gabh lom an la so bithim!
- 10 Bo dileachtach monath n' isle, mon cotha' us im

In English

- 1 Omnipotent much-dreaded Deity of this country! assuage my troubled mind!
- 2 Thou! the support of feeble captives! being now exhausted with fatigue, of thy free will be guide to my children!
- 3 O let my prayers be perfectly acceptable in thy sight!
- 4 An inexhaustible fountain to the humble, O Deity! let me drink of its stream!
- 5 Forsake me not! my earnest desire is now disclosed, which is only that of recovering my daughters
- 6 This was my fervent prayer, lamenting their misfortunes in thy sacred temples
- 7 O bounteous Deity! it is reported here dwelleth Agorastocles
- 8 Should my request appear just, let here my disquietudes cease

- 9 Let them be no longer concealed, O that I may this day find my daughters.
 10 They will be fatherless, and prey to the worst of men, unless it be thy pleasure that I should find them

It was clear that from all these Hebrew affinities on the part of the existing Irish, one of two things must result—either the other Keltic tongues, such as the Welsh and Breton, must be Semitic, or the Irish must be separated from them. I know of no work of greater importance than one of Sir William Betham's, wherein this alternative is thoroughly and fully acted on. In this, however (the Gael and Kymry), he expressly and clearly sees likenesses between the Irish and the Hebrew where he as expressly and clearly does *not* see much closer ones between the Irish and the Welsh. This is the way in which ingenious hypotheses break down. The unreal coincidences are, for a while, magnified. The real ones, however, come into the field of vision and eclipse them, save and except in the case of those eyes that, afflicted with etymological *nyctalopia*, see better in the dark than in daylight.

SECTION IV

CÆSAR'S NOTICE OF THE GAULS

It is in the sixth book of the *Bellum Gallicum* that we find Cæsar's account of the Gauls, the basis of nine-tenths of our speculation concerning their manners and religion. I give it *in extenso*.

The extent to which Gallia is contrasted with Germania, should be noticed. Of the latter country Cæsar's knowledge was limited. The days when inroads were made deep into the soil of Germany had yet to come. The arms of Drusus and Germanicus had yet to be carried northwards. Cæsar, himself, knew best the army of Arminius, and, next to it, the Usipetes and Tencteri of the parts about Cologne. He had crossed the Rhine, but that was all. No mention in his pages occurs of the Sigambri, who, in the reign of Augustus, are often mentioned. Hence we must look upon his knowledge of Germany as imperfect, some portions of which he procured from Gauls, some from officers of his own, especially C. Valerius Procillus, who is

stated to have conversed with Arrovistus, and some from books, for it must be remarked that he refers to Eratosthenes for the dimensions of the great Hercynian forest And—

Lastly, it must be remarked that it is the Gauls who use the words *Germani* and *Germania*. The Germans *may* have called themselves so We have no proof, however, that they did All we *know* of the word is that it was Gallic It may or may not have been German as well The editor thinks that it was not.

* * * * *

Quoniam ad hunc locum perventum est, non alienum esse videtur, de Galliæ Germaniæque moribus, et quo differant hæ nationes inter sese, proponere In Gallia non solum in omnibus civitatibus atque in omnibus pagis partibusque, sed pæne etiam in singulis domibus factiones sunt earumque factionum principes sunt, qui summam auctoritatem eorum judicio habere existimantur, quorum ad arbitrium judiciumque summa omnium rerum consiliorumque redeat. Idque ejus rei causa antiquitus institutum videtur, ne quis ex plebe contra potentiores auxili egeret suos enim quisque opprimi et circumveniri non patitur, neque, aliter si faciant, ullam inter suos habent auctoritatem Hæc eadem ratio est in summa totius Galliæ namque omnes civitates in partes divisæ sunt duas

Quum Cæsar in Galliam venit, alterius factionis principes erant Ædui, alterius Sequani. Hi quum per se minus valerent, quod summa auctoritas antiquitus erat in Ædus, magnæque eorum erant clientelæ, Germanos atque Arrovistum sibi adjunxerant eosque ad se magnis jacturis pollicitationibusque perduxerant Proclius vero compluribus factis secundis, atque omni nobilitate Æduorum, interfecta, tantum potentia antecesserant, ut magnam partem clientium ab Ædus ad se transducerent obsidesque ab eis principum filios acciperent et publicæ jurare cogerent, nihil se contra Sequanos consilii inituros, et partem finitimi agri, per vim occupatam, possiderent Galliæque totius principatum obtinerent

* * * * *

In omni Gallia eorum hominum, qui aliquo sunt numero atque honore, genera sunt duo nam plebes pæne servorum habetur loco, quæ per se nihil audet et nullo adhibetur consilio Plerique, quum aut aie alieno, aut magnitudine tributorum, aut injuria potentiorum prementur, sese in servitutem dicant nobili-

bus, in hos eadem omnia sunt jura, quæ dominis in servos Sed de his duobus generibus alterum est Druidum, alterum Equitum Illi rebus divinis intersunt, sacrificia publica ac privata procurant, religiones interpretantur Ad hos magnus adolescentium numerus disciplinæ causa concurrit, magnoque ii sunt apud eos honore Nam fere de omnibus controversiis publicis privatisque constituunt, et, si quod est admissum facinus, si cædes facta, si de hæreditate, si de finibus controversia est, iudicium decernunt, præmia pœnasque constituunt si qui aut privatus aut publicus eorum decreto non stetit, sacrificiis interdiciunt Hæc pœna apud eos est gravissima Quibus ita est interdictum, ii numero impiorum ac scelestorum habentur, ut omnes decedunt, aditum eorum sermonemque defugiunt, ne quid ex contagione incommodi accipiant neque ut petentibus jus redditur, neque honos ullus communicatur His autem omnibus Divindibus præest unus, qui summam inter eos habet auctoritatem Hoc mortuo, si qui ex reliquis excellit dignitate succedit at, si sunt plures pares, suffragio Divindum adlegitur, nonnumquam etiam armis de principatu contendunt Hi certo anni tempore in finibus Carnutum, quæ regio totius Galliæ media habetur, considunt in loco consecrato Illic omnes undique, qui controversias habent, conveniunt eorumque decretis iudiciisque parent Disciplina in Britannia reperta atque inde in Galliam translata esse existimatur et nunc, qui diligentius eam rem cognoscere volunt, plerumque illo discendi causa proficiscuntur

Druides a bello abesse consueverunt, neque tributa una cum reliquis pendunt, militiæ vacationem omniumque rerum habeat immunitatem Tantis excitati præmiis, et sua sponte multi in disciplinam conveniunt, et a parentibus propinquisque mittuntur Magnum ibi numerum versuum ediscere dicuntur itaque annos nonnulli viros in disciplina permanent Neque fas esse existimant, ea literis mandare, quum in reliquis fere rebus, publicis privatisque rationibus, Græcis utantur litteris Id mihi duabus de causis instituisse videntur, quod neque in vulgum disciplinam efferrî velint, neque eos, qui discant, literis confisos, minus memoriæ studere, quod fere plerisque accidit, ut præsidio, litterarum diligentiam in perdiscendo ac memoriam remittant In primis hoc volunt persuadere, non interire animas, sed ab aliis post mortem transire ad alios atque hoc maxime ad virtutem excitari putant, metu mortis, neglecto Multa præterea de sideribus atque eorum motu, de mundi ac terrarum magnitudine,

de rerum natura, de deorum immortalum vi ac potestate disputant et juventuti transdant

Alterum genus est equitum Hi, quum est usus, atque aliquod bellum incidit (quod ante Cæsaris adventum fere quotannis accidere solebat, uti aut ipsi injurias inferrent, aut illatas propulsarent), omnes in bello versantur atque eorum ut quisque est genere copiusque amplissimus, ita plurimos eorum se ambactos clientesque habent Hanc unam gratiam potentiamque noverunt

Natio est omnis Galloium admodum dedita religionibus atque ob eam causam, qui sunt adfecti gravioribus morbis, quique in præliis periculisque versantur, aut pro victimis homines immolant, aut se immolatuos vovent administrisque ad ea sacrificia Diuidibus utuntur, quod, pro vita hominis nisi hominis vita reddatur, non posse aliter deorum immortalium numen placari arbitrantur publiceque ejusdem generis habent instituta sacrificia Alii immanis magnitudine simulacia habent, quorum contexta viminibus membra vivis hominibus complent, quibus succensis, circumventi flamma exanimantur homines Supplicia eorum, qui in fuito, aut in litrocinio, aut aliqua noxa sint comprehensi, gratiora diis immortalibus esse arbitrantur, sed, quum ejus generis copia deficit, etiam ad innocentium supplicia descendunt

Deum maxime Mercurium colunt hujus sunt plurima simulacra, hunc omnium inventorem artium ferunt, hunc viarum atque itinerum ducem, hunc ad quæstus pecuniæ mereaturasque habere vim maximam arbitrantur Post hunc, Apollinem et Martem et Jovem et Minervam de his eandem fere, quam reliquæ gentes habent opinionem, Apollinem morbos depellere, Minervam operum atque artificiorum initia transdere, Jovem imperium cælestium tenere, Martem bella regere Huic, quum prælio dimicare constituerunt, ea, quæ bello ceperint, plerumque devovent Quæ superaverint, animalia capta immolant, reliquas res in unum locum conferunt Multis in civitatibus harum rerum exstructos tumulos locis consecratis conspiciari licet neque sæpe accidit, ut, neglecta quavis religionem, aut capta apud se occultare, aut posita tollere audeat, gravissimumque ei rei supplicium cum cruciatu constitutum est

Galli se omnes ab Dite patre prognatos prædicant, idque ab Druidibus proditum dicunt Ob eam causam spatia omnis temporis non numero dierum, sed noctium finiunt, dies natales

et mensium et annorum initia sic observant, ut noctem dies subsequatur. In reliquis vitæ institutis hoc fere ab reliquis differunt, quod suos liberos, nisi quum adoleverint, ut munus militiæ sustinere possint, palam ad se adire non patiuntur, filiumque puerili ætate in publico, in conspectu patris, adsistere, turpe ducunt.

Viri, quantas pecunias ab uxoribus dotis nomine acceperunt, tantas ex suis bonis, æstimatione facta, cum dotibus communicant. Hujus omnis pecuniæ conjunctiua ratio habetur, fructusque servantur. Uter eorum vita superarit, ad eum pars utriusque cum fructibus superiorum temporum pervenit. Viri in uxores, sicuti in liberos, vitæ necisque habent potestatem. Et, quum pater familiæ, illustriore loco natus, decessit, ejus propinqui conveniunt et, de morte si res in suspicionem venit, de uxoribus in servilem modum quæstionem habent et, si compertum est, igni atque omnibus tormentis excrutiatas interficiunt. Funera sunt pro cultu Gallorum magnifica et sumptuosa, omniaque, quæ vivis cordi fuisse arbitrantur, in ignem inferunt, etiam animalia, ac paullo supra hanc memoriam servi et clientes, quos ab eis dilectos esse constabat, justis funcribus confectis, una cremabantur.

Quæ civitates commodius suam rem publicam administrare existimantur, habent legibus sanctum, si quis quid de re publica a finitimis rumore ac fama acceperit, uti ad magistratum deferat, neve cum quo alio communicet. Quod sæpe homines temerarios atque imperitos falsis rumoribus terri et ad facinus impelli et de summis rebus consilium capere cognitum est. Magistratus, quæ visa sunt, occultant, quæque esse ex usu judicaverint, multitudini produnt. De re publica nisi per concilium loqui non conceditur.

Germani multum ab hac consuetudine differunt. Nam neque Druides habent, qui rebus divinis præsiint, neque sacrificiis student. Decorum numero eos solos ducunt, quos cernunt et quorum aperte opibus juvantur, Solem et Vulcanum et Lunam. Reliquos ne fama quidem acceperunt. Vita omnis in venationibus atque in studis rei militaris consistit. ab parvulis labori ac duritiæ student. Qui diutissime impuberes permanserunt, maximam inter suos ferunt laudem. hoc ali staturam, ali hoc vires nervosque confirmari putant. Intra annum vero vicesimum feminae notitiam habuisse, in turpissimis habent rebus, cujus rei nulla est occultatio, quod et pronasce in fluminibus perluuntur,

et pellibus aut parvis rhenonum tegimentis utuntur, magna corporis parte nuda

Agriculturæ non student, majorque pars victus eorum in lacte, casco, urne consistit neque quisquam agri modum certum aut fines habet proprios sed magistratus ac principes in annos singulos gentibus cognationibusque hominum, qui una coerant, quantum, et quo loco visum est, agri adtribuunt atque anno post alio transire cogunt Ejus rei multas adferunt causas, ne, assidua consuetudine capti, studium belli gerundi agricultura commutent, ne latos fines parare studeant potentioresque humiliores possessionibus expellant, ne adeo ad frigora atque aestus vitandos ædificent, ne qua oriatur pecuniæ cupiditas, qua ex re factiones dissensionesque nascuntur, ut animi æquitate plebem contineant, quum suas quisque opes cum potentissimis æquari videat

Civitatis maxima laus est, quam latissimas circum se vastatis finibus solitudines habere Hoc proprium virtutis existimant, expulsos agris finitimos cedere, neque quemquam prope audere consistere simul hoc se fore tutiores arbitrantur, repentinæ incursionis timore sublato Quum bellum civitas aut illatum defendit, aut infert magistratus, qui ei bello præsent, ut vitæ necisque habeant potestatem, deliguntur In pace nullus est communis magistratus, sed principes regionum atque pagorum inter suos jus dicunt, controversiasque minuunt Latrocinia nullam habent infamiam, quæ extra fines ejusque civitatis fiunt, atque ea juventutis exercendæ ac desidie minuendæ causa fieri prædicant Atque, ubi quis ex principibus in concilio dixit, "se ducem fore, qui sequi velint, profiteantur," consurgunt ii, qui et causam et hominem probant, suumque auxilium pollicentur atque ab multitudine collaudantur qui ex his secuti non sunt, in desertorum ac proditorum numero ducuntur omniumque is rerum postea fides derogatur Hospites violare, fas non putant, qui quæque de causa ad eos venerint, ab injuria prohibent sanctosque habent, his omnium domus patent, victusque communicatur

Ac fuit antea tempus, quum Germanos Galli virtute superarent, ultro bella inferrent, propter hominum multitudinem agrique inopiam trans Rhenum colonias mitterent Itaque ea, quæ fertilissima sunt, Germaniæ loca circum Hercyniam silvam (quam Eratostheni et quibusdam Græcis fama notam esse video, quam illi Orcyniam adpellant), Volæ Tectosages occupaverunt atque

ibi consederunt Quæ gens ad hoc tempus iis sedibus sese continet summamque habet justitiæ et bellicæ laudis opinionem nunc quoque in eadem inopia, egestate, patientia, quæ Germani, permanent eodem victu et cultu corporis utuntur, Gallis autem provinciæ propinquitas, et transmarinorum rerum notitia, multa ad copiam atque usus largitur Paullatim adsuefacti superari, multisque victi proclis, ne se quidem ipsi cum illis virtute comparant

With Cæsar's text as a preliminary, we may proceed to the investigation of the *ancient* Keltic area—real or supposed

SECTION V

THE Keltic AREA—SAVOY AND SWITZERLAND—HELVETIA

THE original Keltic area is one thing, the areas into which the Kelts intruded is another

Germany is the original English area England, and, still more, America, are areas into which the English have intruded

Let these two sorts of area be kept separate

The limits of Keltic Gaul on the side of Spain will be considered in the sequel So will certain statements connected with the Kelts of Dauphiny and Provence So will Belgium, and Valley of the Rhine

We begin the series of criticisms immediately before us with Savoy Was this Keltic? There would be no reason to consider it otherwise, were it not for a passage in Livy, who speaks of (xxi, 38) the country about the Mons Peninus (a Keltic name, *Pen = Ben*) as being *obsepta gentibus semi-Germanis—Veragri incolæ jugi* Zeuss takes the passage as it stands, without taking exceptions to it He admits that, in the time of Cæsar, the evidence is in favour of the population being Gallic, but the Gauls he makes intrusive More than this, he sees in the name *Chabiles*, a name which, in a passage of Avienus, occurs along with *Tylangis*, *Dalerni*, and *Temenicus ager*, the same word as the word *Καουλκοι* of Strabo He also sees ways in which the others may take a meaning in German

Cæsar, who, as an authority, is worth all the rest put together, mentions the Veragri, the Seduni, and the Nantuates The first of these *may* be a Keltic name = *the men* (*fear, gwr*)

of Mons *Okria* The third cannot well be other than Keltic, *nant* = valley, *nantuates* = dalesmen

Which is the likelier, that Livy should have used the word *semi-Germani* in a sense different to Zeuss' interpretation? or that the changes, etc., necessary to make a German occupancy of Savoy compatible with the other facts of the case should have occurred between the time of the Second Punic War and Cæsar's conquest? The further we proceed, the more we shall hesitate to make Livy's *Veragri*, etc., Germans. We shall find Kelts beyond their area, &c. in—

Parts of Switzerland—Helvetia—The modern Switzerland is partly the Helvetia, partly the Rhætia, of the ancients. Let us look to the Helvetic portion first. Cæsar treats all the Helveti as Gauls, and I see no reason, either in the way of conflicting testimony, or internal evidence, to take exceptions to the doctrine indicated by his text. A point, however, connected with it deserves notice. It bears upon the ethnological origin of the English *hundred*. Was it Keltic or German? In one place Cæsar says that the *civitas* of the Helveti had four hundred villages, in another, he says that it was divided into four *pagi*. Put these two statements together, and we get the English Hundred in Gallic Helvetia. Of two of these *pagi* he gives us the names—the *pagus Tigurinus*, and the *pagus Verbigenus*. Strabo makes the number of the tribes (*φύλα*) three, of which two (*the two* = τὰ δύο) were destroyed. This would leave but one, probably that of the Helveti proper. In this he seems to have taken the two names of Cæsar, and presumed that the Helveti gave a third. This, however, is a detail of no importance in relation to the main question. So is a point which will be noticed in the sequel, viz. the Desert (*ἔρημος*) of the Helveti, and the Helvetian area in Wurtemberg.

SECTION VI •

THE KELTIC AREA—THE TYROL—RHÆTIA.

Helvetic Switzerland being Keltic, was *Rhætian* Switzerland the same?

Rhætia, besides a moiety of Switzerland, comprised the Tyrol

The ethnology of Rhætia is the ethnology of a population of such interest and importance as to claim (if space permitted) a separate monograph. Neither would such a notice be a brief one, the population in question being the ancient Etruscans.

The opinions concerning their relations are well known to be numerous and antagonistic. The earlier doctrine was that they were the same as the Tyrseni of Herodotus, and these the historian deduces from Lydia. In this view there are two assumptions: first, that the Etruscans and Tyrseni were one and the same people, next, that the account of Herodotus was true. Niebuhr denied the first, and drew a distinction between them. He might have demurred to the second.

The views that (perhaps) are now prevalent are chiefly founded on an objection of Dionysius of Halicarnassus and a statement in Livy. The former remarks that Xanthus, the special historian of Lydia, makes no mention of the events related by Herodotus, and that Xanthus being a native investigator is important, in both what he says, and what he leaves unsaid.

Livy states that the Alpine nations, and especially the Rhæti, are of Tuscan origin, but that the mountaineers, having become barbarized by their mountain localities, have kept nothing Tuscan but the language, and that in a corrupted form. This passage, though well-known, has scarcely had the full value given it. It has scarcely been recognised as more than an ordinary piece of ancient ethnology—the general rule being that ancient ethnology is of a very indifferent quality. It is, however, something more than this. It is the statement of a contemporary writer to a special and important fact, *i. e.* to the fact of the Tuscan language being spoken in the Rhætian Alps. It is this, and something more. The conditions of place were as favorable to Livy as those of time. He lived, when the language was spoken, and, as a native of Padua, he lived in the neighbourhood of those who spoke it.

Whether he is equally to be relied upon in deducing the Rhæti from the Tuscans, rather than the Tuscans from the Rhæti (for so his statement runs, though it is by no means certain that it was meant to be interpreted very closely), is another question. *This* is not a point on which he is a witness, nor yet one upon which he was in condition that might make him one. It was an inference rather than an observation, and, as such, stands in a different category from his notice of their language.

Upon this latter we must argue. To set it aside, or to postpone it to the account of Herodotus and his Lydians is to allow legend, tradition, inference, or what not, to take precedence of historical testimony.

It does not, however, follow that because the Rhætians were Tuscan, all the other Alpine tribes were the same. It does not even follow that because some of the Rhætians were Tuscans all were so. This is what Zeuss maintains. Certain small tribes, such as the Stoni, Lepontii, and Tridentini, were remains of the Etruscans. But is it right to infer therefrom that *all* the Rhæti were Etruscan? The question must be determined by other considerations.

Thus criticized, the statement of Livy, according to both Zeuss and Dieffenbach, goes no further than to indicate the existence of *some* Tuscans in Rhætia. What were the other tribes? Both Zeuss and Dieffenbach make them Keltic. There is a certain amount of testimony to this effect: there are the presumptions arising out of the geographical position of the Kelt frontier, and there are certain geographical names which are Keltic in form. Is this sufficient?

Steub, in his Rhætian Ethnology (*Beiträge zur Rhätischen Ethnologie*, 1854), thinks it is not. The more definite Keltic names, *Bragodurum*, *Ectodurum*, *Ebodurum*, and *Thiasomagus*, he refers to either the parts beyond Rhætia Proper, or else to its extreme frontier. He also shows that the uniformity of nomenclature over the whole area is incompatible with the doctrine that a Keltic population was the chief population of the country.

In this he seems to argue rightly. There are *some* traces of a Keltic population, but they are insufficient to disturb the inference drawn from the text of Livy and the internal evidence of the local names.

There are *some* traces of a Keltic population, but this need not even have been the occupants of any portion of the Rhætian area.

There were Kelts on the Rhætian frontier, and the line of that frontier was, probably, very irregular.

To disprove the Keltic hypothesis, is only one portion of Steub's work. He also undertakes the identification of the Rhætian and Etruscan tongues. This is difficult. With only a few intelligible words of the latter, and with the former represented by those scanty elements of the present Rumonsch, which

are neither of Latin nor German origin, all his acuteness was required. He has, therefore, done what was to be expected—forced some of his facts upon hard service. The sounds of *b*, *d*, *g*, and *o*, are believed to have been wanting in the Etruscan. The same sounds are said to be wanting in the Rumonsch. The most, I think, that can be said upon this point, is that they have a tendency to be replaced by *p*, *t*, *c*, and *a*.

Again, the personal names on the tombs of Etruria can be found in the Tyrol, but not as the names of men and women, only as those of geographical localities. Hence the doctrine runs that the proper names of the necrology of Etruria are the proper names of Rhaetian topography. There is a great deal of assumption here.

Again, the names, as they stand on the Etrurian sepulchres, are extremely consonantal, e.g. *Carthnal*, *Tarchna*, etc. This, however, is no part of the language. The fuller forms, without their orthographic abbreviations, are *Caratunala*, *Tuacuna*, etc. The former of these he calls the epigraphic (i.e. inscriptional), the latter the Rhaetian, forms—Rhaetian meaning the Etruscan as it was spoken, or as it was in some older and more vocalic form.

With this postulate he gives the following table —

RHÆTIAN	EPIGRAPHIC	OLD TYROL *	MODERN TYROL
Achunusa	Achunisa	<i>Aguns</i>	Agums
Aiathalusa	Arthalusa	————	Ortles
Auluna	Aulyna	————	Aulinna
Cafata	Cafate	————	Gfad
Cafatala	Cafatal	<i>Caffociol</i>	Tschafatsch
Capuna	Capna	————	Tschaion
Capatuna	Capatine	<i>Curedun</i>	Gufidaun
Capatusa	Capatesa	————	Gebatsch
Calusa	Calisa	————	Tscholis, Glis
Calusuna	Calusna	<i>Cholsaun</i>	Galsaun
Calutuva	Clutiva	————	Kaldiff
Caruna	Caina	————	Garn, Graun
Cirunala	Carnal	————	Karnel, Karnol
Caracuna	Carouna	————	Tschirgant
Caracusa	Carousa	<i>Chorzes</i>	Kortsch
Carutuna	Cartuna (St. N)	<i>Caridun</i>	Kardaun

* From documents

RHÆTIAN	EPIGRAPHIC	OLD TYROL	MODERN TYROL
Carutusa	Ciarthisa	<i>Zardes</i>	Tschars
Caratunala	Carthnal	————	Karthnal
Caratalusa	Ciarthualisa	————	Grotles
Laruna	Larna	————	Larcin
Marucanusa	Marcanisa	<i>Marzshenis</i>	Marschlins
Maruna	Marina	————	Marcin
Matuluna	Methlna	<i>Maduleno</i>	Madulein
Perusalala	Perisal.	————	Persall
Perusalusa	Perisalisa	<i>Piesels</i>	Presels
Patusa	Patis	<i>Patse</i>	Patsch
Rasuna	Rasna	————	Rasein
Suthuruna	Suthina	————	Sadrin
Suthurusa	Suthrisa	————	Sauters
Taluna	Thalna	————	Talluna
Talacuna	Tarchna	————	Tertschein
Taracusa	Tarchisa	<i>Tarcis</i>	Tartsch
Thurunusa	Thrinisa	<i>Truns</i>	Trins
Thurusa	Thauris	<i>Tieres</i>	Tiers
Thurusuna	Tursna	————	Toisanna
Thusuna	Thusen	<i>Tusen</i>	Tisen
Vaiuna	Varna	<i>Varna</i>	Varn
Venalusa	Venalisa	<i>Venls</i>	Vendels
Vulana	Velani	<i>Fulano</i>	Vollan
Vularusa	Volarisa	<i>Volares</i>	Volders
Vulusa	Velisa	<i>Velis</i>	Vels
Vulasuna	Velsuna	————	Valsun
Vuluta	Velta	————	Vilt
Vulutuna	Velthuna	<i>Valduna</i>	Valduna
Vulatura	Velthura	————	Vuldera
Vulaturunusa	Velthurnisa	<i>Velthurnes</i>	Velthurns

It cannot be denied that there is much assumption here. Nevertheless, the doctrine that Rhætia was Tuscan, and Etruria Rhætian, is sound. The investigations of Steub prove that the language was one over the whole province; and the proper confirmation of them will appear when, after an elimination of the Latin and German elements of the Rumonsch language, and a similar ejection of the Latin from the Etrurian dialect of the Italian, the residue of the two shall be found to coincide.

As it is, however, the evidence to the fact of the Tuscan language having been spoken by the Rhæti, is historical, to say the

least of it, which is more than can be said of any contrary assertion

But the Tuscans may have been Kelts. I do not say that the evidence of antiquity is quite conclusive against this view. I only say that I know of no author who has ever identified the two—the Tuscans of Etruria and the Gauls of the Cisalpines.

Were the Rhetian Tuscans of Livy foreign to the Alpine localities in which the author places them? Thus they may have been, in which case they must be looked upon as recent, intrusive, and exceptional populations. The Gauls, who took so many cities from the Tuscans of the valley of the Po, may have driven the remainder into the mountains. Common as is this method of accounting for the existence of an isolated population, it is hardly ever correct. Impracticable mountains are not the places of refuge to tribes who have been driven from the level country. They are rather the districts which the conquerors of the plain leave untouched, the population which they contain being, for the most part, aboriginal.

Upon the whole, I infer that Rætia, originally other than Keltic, was not only in contact with the Keltic areas of Helvetia and Northern Italy, but was deeply indented by extensions of the Keltic frontier. It might have contained Keltic colonies—especially in the time of the Empire.

What the Ræti, and what the Etrusci were, taken collectively, is another question.

SECTION VII

STYRIA AND CARINTHIA—NORICUM

Prichard, in making the occupants of the Western Alps Keltic, gives the following extract from Polybius—an excellent authority. On the "side which looks towards the north, and the river Rhone, dwelt those termed Transalpine Gauls, who are of the same origin with the rest, meaning the Cisalpine tribes, and are only so termed on account of their local situation. On the other side, he adds, are the Taurisci, the Agones (Lingones), and other nations." I submit that this suggests a difference between the populations of the western and eastern ranges, and

that it favours, rather than opposes, the view just exhibited respecting the Rheti.

Nevertheless, the authors who call the population of Noricum *Kelts* and *Galatæ* are numerous and respectable, Strabo being one of them. The exception, however, that lies against the inference deducible from the use of these terms has been pointed out. And, in the present case, it is taken. The presumptions are against Noricum having been Celtic, inasmuch as Rætia, on its Gallic side, was other than Gallic.

The evidence of the local names, which was anything but conclusive in respect to Rætia, is still less conclusive here, indeed, undeniable forms like the compounds in *durum*, *magus*, etc., are wanting.

A name synonymous, or nearly so, with Norici, is *Taurisci*. Now the form in *-isc*, though Slavonic, German, and Latin (*Volsci*), is, by no means, Celtic. Zeuss, indeed, claims for it the Kelts (*note in voc* Norici), but only by arguing in a circle. The name *Scordisci* is from the mountain Scordus, and the *Scordisci* are Kelts. But this is just the point that requires better proof than it has met with.

Out of the six Noric populations of Ptolemy, three require notice, from the fact of their names beginning with the same element, viz the *Amb-isonia*, the *Amb idravi*, and the *Amb ilici*. As the latter halves of these compounds are the names of the rivers *Isonzo*, *Drave*, and *Lech*, the import of the combination *amb-* is easily divined. It denotes the occupants of the water-systems in question. The particular way in which it does this is doubtful. It is, probably, a preposition, like *Cis-* and *Trans-*, in words like *Cis alpine* and *Trans-alpine*, or like the Slavonic *Po-* in *Po-moravia* = *on the sea*.

Granted this—to what language does it belong? Zeuss finds it in the Gallic, and holds that it is the *Amb-* in *Amb actus*, and *Amb-arii*, the latter being supposed to = *Amb-arari* = *the occupants of the Arar*. It may, perhaps, be thus, but it may easily be the Greek ἄμφι, which I think it is. Were the Norici, then, Greeks? By no means. Only the sources of Ptolemy's terminology were Greeks, who translated the Noric names, or, at any rate, put them into a Greek form. But is this likely? Look at the map of ancient Dacia, and see the number of words ending in *-ensis*, all of which are not only supposed, but generally admitted, to be the Latin forms in *-entes*.

Noricum leads us to Illyria, the Taurisci to the Scordisci. Now, just as good authors speak of the Kelts of Noricum, so do good authors speak of the populations of

SECTION VIII

THE KELTS OF ILLYRIA

Of these the chief were the Scordisci, a name of the same origin, in respect to its second element, as Taurisci. I have already stated that this is no true and undoubted Keltic form. Nevertheless, it may easily be the name of a Keltic population. It may be the name given to it by its neighbours. The non-Keltic character, then, of the forms in *-isci* is not the reason against Kelts forming a portion of the population of Illyria.

The true reasons lie in the insufficiency of the testimony as opposed to the *a priori* improbabilities, the absence of any internal evidence, and the positive facts that favour an occupancy other than Keltic. In other words, it is the criticism that applied to Noricum repeated, with the addition of a few special and peculiar remarks.

That the Scordisci were called Galatæ I believe, but I believe that the Galatæ implied by the name were the Galatæ of Gallicia, i.e. the Slavonic *G-l-t*, to speak generally.

Strabo's text claims notice. It runs *οἱ Σκορδισκοὶ καλούμενοι Γαλαταὶ τοῖς Ἰλλυρικοῖς ἔθνεσι καὶ τοῖς Θρακικοῖς ὄκησαν ἀναμῖξ* (p. 313). See Zeuss, in v. 1 *Illyrische Kelten*.

I submit that Galatæ was the national, Scordisci the geographical, name, and that out of the name Galatæ came the identification of them with the Kelts—Strabo himself writing *οἱ Κέλτοι οἱ ἀναμεμυγμένοι τοῖς τε Θραξὶ καὶ τοῖς Ἰλλυριοῖς*, p. 304.

With such passages as these in Strabo, and with a name so likely to mislead, the statement that the Scordisci were Kelts is not to surprise us, when it occurs (as it does) in several later and inferior writers.

The evidence, however, of the name along with the authority of Strabo constitutes the whole of the case in favour of the Scordisci being Kelts. All the rest seems to be either Strabo repeated, or the inference from the name drawn afresh.

SECTION IX

KELTS OF DALMATIA—THE COUNTRY OF THE IAPODIΣ

That the Iapodes were a mixed nation, Keltic and Illyrian, is a doctrine that rests on the evidence of Strabo, the fact being admitted to be probable. Nevertheless, it is far from being unexceptionable. Polybius supplies us with a passage respecting the Veneti, a population closely akin to the Iapodes, which leads to the belief that what was called a Keltic and Illyrian intermixture was merely the mixture of certain Keltic and Illyrian characters. Between these there is a wide difference. ‘Οἱ Οὔνετοί τοις ἔθεσι καὶ τῷ κόσμῳ βραχὺ διαφέρουτες Κελτῶν, γλώσση δ’ ἀλλοία χρώμενοι—II 17.

The Veneti were, almost certainly, in the same category with the Iapodes*, and, as certainly, other than Keltic.

SECTION X

KELTS OF THE LOWER DANUBE—BASTARNÆ—GALATÆ

The Bastarnæ—The Bastarnæ of the Lower Danube are generally (though, probably, wrongly) considered Germans—Strabo, Tacitus, and Pliny being the chief authorities. This doctrine, however, has many complications, which reference to other writers increases rather than diminishes.

Livy’s evidence makes them *Gauls*, since he calls their leader, in one place, Clondicus dux *Bastarnarum* (xI 58), and in another (applying to the same series of events) Clondicus, *regulus Galorum* (xIv 26).

He also writes—“Per *Scordiscos* iter esse ad mare Adriaticum Italiamque. Alia via traduci exercitum non posse. Facile Bastarnis Scordiscos iter daturus, nec enim aut lingua aut moribus aequales abhorrere.”

* The special ethnology of the Iapodes is investigated by the Editor, in the Transactions of the Philological Society, vol. ix.

Plutarch does the same as Livy—*Ῥπεκίνει δὲ* (nempe Perscus) *καὶ Γαλίτας, τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἰστρον ὄκημένους, οἱ Βαστάρναι καλοῦνται.*—Vit Paul Æmil c 9

The Bastarnæ were distinguished from their neighbours—warlike as these were—by superior bravery, vast stature, and intense love of fighting—*Ἄνδρες ὑψηλοὶ μὲν τὰ σώματα, θαυμαστοὶ δὲ τὰς μελέτας, μέγανλοι δὲ καὶ λαμπροὶ ταῖς κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἀπειλαῖς* —Plut Vit Paul Æmil 12

The fragment of Scymnus makes them immigrants or conquerors —*Οὗτοι δὲ Θρᾷκες, Βαστάρναι τ' ἐπήλυδες*

I think that, along with the Scordisci, they were *Gallians* I also give considerable importance to the word *ἐπήλυδες* in the extract from Scymnus

That Galatæ, of some kind or other, were occupants of the Lower Danube, is shown by other notices, the chief of which is supplied by the famous Olbian Inscription, wherein we find the name

Has any one ever maintained that these Galatæ were anything but ordinary Gauls of Gallia, or at any rate closely allied tribes? I cannot say what every writer on the subject may have admitted or denied. I lay, however, before the reader the following extracts from Niebuhr, and shall, in the sequel, notice the adhesion of Grote to the same doctrine. I give Niebuhr's text *in extenso*, in order to suggest some reflections upon the criticism it embodies. Speaking of the Scythians, he writes—

“At the time when Thucydides wrote, events were ripening in the west, which, in their progress and development, decided the downfall of the Scythian nation, and convulsed and desolated the whole of Europe from the Tanais to the Sierra Morena

“The name of the Triballian plain cannot have been confined to the narrow district of Syrmia, lying in the angle which the Angrus (the Dan), having its source in Illyria, forms by its confluence with the Brongus (the Sava). It doubtless extended over the whole level country of Lower Hungary. But though the Servians were, as regards their descent, quite unconnected with the Triballi, yet the Byzantine writers were not mistaken when, in respect of their place of abode, they called them by the latter name, as being a classical appellation, for the Triballi dwelt, in

the time of Thucydides, on the confines of the Odrysian kingdom north of mount Scymus. They were a Thracian nation.

"In the first year of the 101st Olympiad these Triballi, with all their disposable forces, to the number of 30,000 men, made an irruption into the territory of Abdera. The events of this war I pass over, the only point connected with the present inquiry is their appearance at so great a distance from their former country in quest of new settlements, for we find them between Mount Hæmus, the sea, and the Danube, in the region which the Gætæ still inhabited when Thucydides wrote his history—the province Scythia (*sic*) (Mœsia?) of the later Roman empire. The Scythian king Atreas, who carried on war with the Istians, and afterwards in Bessarabia with Philip, fought also with the Triballi: they attacked Philip on his return from the Delta of the Danube across Mount Hæmus. and after the Thracians had in vain attempted to repel Alexander from their country in the passes of these mountains, they placed their wives and children in safety in an island of the Danube named Peuce, which was formed by two mouths of the river. This entire change of abode shows that Diodorus is quite mistaken in assigning hunger as the cause of their advance to the Thracian coast. The men of military age, who would not submit to be the slaves of a savage enemy, set out in quest of a new country.

"The conquerors to whom they yielded their ancient settlements were the Gauls. From a comparison of the Roman and Grecian chronology it was the twelfth year after the sacking of Rome when the Triballi appeared before Abdera, and in the reign of Philip, Scylax mentions Celts in the farthest recess of the Adriatic gulf, who had been left behind by the invaders in their march, *i.e.* in their march along the Danube, where afterwards the Scordisci dwelt, in Lower Hungary and in the territory of the Servians, the descendants of the victorious Gauls. They and their kindred race in Noricum were the Celts who sent ambassadors to Alexander after his victory over the Triballi and Gætæ."

Again—"In the new comedy, and even in Menander, Davus and Geta were nearly the most usual names of slaves according, therefore, to the Athenian mode of naming them, we may infer that at that (though not at an earlier) time slaves from these nations were very numerous at Athens. This was occasioned by wars, from which the captives were brought in troops to the great

markets, where, even though no hostility existed against the suffering nation, they were treated like any other kind of plunder. As to the race which reduced them to slavery, there can be no doubt that it was the Scordisci, Boni, and other Gaelic and Cimbrian tribes settled on the banks of the Middle Danube, by whom they were brought into Greece through Illyria or Macedonia."

Again—"After this epoch these countries are for a long time unnoticed in history; however, Olbia and the surrounding region derive much light from the inscription of Protogenes, of which the date alone is wanting. In this, Olbia is represented as sunk in great misery and distress, and completely overwhelmed by a recent war with the Gauls (*Γαλάται*), in which all the slaves in the country and the half Greeks on the frontiers had been destroyed. The city was threatened with another attack, as the Gauls and Sciri had concluded an alliance, and it was generally reported that they would make an attack in the winter. At that season, when the ice was hard, the city was exposed, for there was no wall towards the river and the harbour—an omission which doubtless had not arisen from the negligence of the first founders, but either from the prohibition of the Scythian kings to build one, or the command of the Getan kings to demolish it when built. The project was frustrated by the extensive fortification of the open country. Olbia at that time not only had reason to fear the Gauls, but also the Thissamatæ, the Scythians, and Saudaratæ, who were anxious to get possession of that town in order to secure a convenient place of defence against their formidable enemies. At the same time a certain king named Saptapharnes ruled over that region, whose forbearance the Olbiopolitæ purchased by embassies and presents, and were compelled to humble themselves before him when he appeared with his army on the opposite bank of the river, in order to receive the tribute, which in the decree is called a gift. The river is, beyond all question, the Borysthenes, and not the Hypanis, and the very name of Saptapharnes makes it certain that he was a Getan, whose kingdom was to the east of the Dnieper, being the successor of the Ampharnes already mentioned. The Thissamatæ and Saudaratæ are nations which do not occur elsewhere; the former name is probably in part compounded of the same word as that of the Iaxamatæ on the lake Mæotis, which Demetrius of Callatis considered as the same nation as the Mæotians of the early writers, Ephorus as a tribe of the Sauro-

matæ The Scythians had by this time become so insignificant, that they only occur as a surviving horde in conjunction with two other nations, who were in search of a fortified city to protect their defenceless people against the Gauls

"The period at which this latter nation first appeared in the neighbourhood of the Borysthènes would determine that of the inscription, for the whole tenor of it shows that the first terrors of invasion prevailed. But upon this point history supplies us with no information, on the contrary, the inscription is the first testimony we have of the Gauls having at any time inhabited and been lords of the Ukraine and it serves to illustrate the name of the Celto-Scythians, which occurs in Strabo without explanation, and can now no longer be understood to signify the supposed contact of the great nations of ancient geography, but must mean the Celts in Scythia. Strabo quotes from Posidonius, that the Cimbri had advanced as far as the lake Mæotis, and I may venture to assume, as a point already proved, that these were Gauls in the extensive Roman sense of the word, which also comprises the Belgians, and even their companions the Teutones or Germans, and that they came not from the north, but from the east. These Cimbri are the Galatæ of the Olbian inscription, though they were as yet confined to the right bank of the Borysthènes, the left bank being included in the powerful kingdom of the Gætæ. And I see no reason why their allies the Scythians, should not be the Scythians, who indeed do not occur for many generations after this time, and then as Germans, but who might, at this period, with other branches of their nation, be classed under the general name of 'Teutones'."—*Researches into the History of the Scythian, Gætæ, and Sarmatians*

We shall not have seen the whole import of these over-long extracts until we have considered the Kelts of Spain or the Celtiberians. Then, and not till then, shall we see what is meant by the convulsions and desolations of Europe, "from the Tanais to the Sierra Morena." At present it is sufficient to draw attention to the enormous amount of locomotion and migration implied in the movements of the Cimbri and other populations. And all for what? For the sake of the name *Galatæ* and the non-recognition of the possibility of two populations having borne it

SECTION XI

TWO CLASSES OF GALATÆ

The possibility, in the general way, of two populations bearing the same name, without being connected in their ethnology, has been already suggested.

So has the particular probability of the word *Gall-* being a name of the kind in question.

The present is as fit a time as any for introducing the details of this doctrine, both in respect to the conclusions to which it leads, and the evidence upon which it rests.

That the *original* Keltic area was bounded on the east by the Rhine, if not by some line west of that river, is, in my mind, almost certain.

That there was Keltic *intrusion, encroachment, conquest, and occupancy* beyond the limits of this *original* area is also certain.

That these, though important and considerable, were of no inordinate magnitude, I believe. In Italy I carry them far south—very far south indeed. In Rætia, Vindelicia, and Noricum, I find traces of them. In Dalmatia these are just probable. For the parts beyond, I deny them altogether, admitting, however, that, before we can exclude them from Greece and Asia Minor, we must deal as boldly with the evidence of certain writers of antiquity, as critics of the opposite doctrine deal with time and space and *a priori* presumptions.

That these *a priori* presumptions are improved by changing the line of the migration, and accounting for the presence of Kelts in Wallachia, Russia, and similar improbable areas, by saying that it was the "movement from their original home in Asia which brought them there, so that they took these several places in their way to the west," is diametrically opposed to what I consider sound ethnological criticism, as may be seen in Section III.

Little better do I think of what many writers, with whom I unwillingly differ, seem to think highly philosophical and scientific, viz those endless chains of cause and effect which the extracts from Niebuhr, in the preceding chapter, were especially made to illustrate, causes and effects which drive out nation after nation in the way that one wedge, or nail, drives another. A, attacked by B, attacks C who is thrown upon D, who

evacuates his country, in order to take E's, who ejects F, who drives G, and so on to the end of the alphabet. All this is but the philosophy of the "House that Jack built," or the "Pig, Pig," that would not get over the stile, in the hands of learned men instead of children.

Now, as to the evidence that there were *K-lt*, *G-l-t*, or *G-l*, besides the members of what modern ethnologists call the Kelt stock, family, group, division, or class—

I ask, in the first place (and, if the answer be in the affirmative, a great deal of my doctrine must be abandoned) whether, without arguing in a circle, there is any evidence whatsoever of the present name of the Polish district called Galicia being other than native, ancient, and (as such) Slavonic. *Halicz* is the Polish form, for which the Bohemian would be *Galiez*, the *H* becoming, by the law of the language (and not accidentally, or by assumption), *G*.

Then there is, near the mouth of the Danube, the modern town of *Galacz*. Is there any evidence that its name is other than native, and, if native, why not old? The argument in favour of its antiquity may be strengthened. In the time of the Athenian Republic, there was a *Kallatis* at no great distance, *i.e.* on the coast of the Euxine, to the south of the Danube. It was one of a Pentapolis, the others being Apollonia, Mesymbria, Odessus, and either Istius, or Tomi.

Form for form, *Kallatis* is to Keltæ as *Galacz* to Galatæ.

Language for language, *Kallatis* and the country of the Gallic speaking *Gothini*, either actually belonged to the same area, or were each in close geographical contact with it. The *Gothini* came in contact with the Sarmatæ, as we saw by the text of Tacitus. The people of *Kallatis* did the same, as we may see in Ovid, who at Tomi, speaks oftener than once of the eastern members of the same stock —

*Iam didici Getico Sarmaticeque loqui,
Junctaque Parrhasius Sarmatis et i Getis*

Place for place, there is a difference. *Kallatis* (like *Galacz*) is a town, the district of the *Gothini* was a country. The country, however, may have given the name to a city. Nevertheless, the difference constitutes an objection.

Notwithstanding, I hold that certain Sarmatians were described as Galatæ and Keltæ, more especially those of the Lower Danube, and most especially those of

SECTION XII

THE GALATÆ OF THE OLBIA INSCRIPTION

The Olbian Inscription (I am all but transcribing Grote), the 2058th of Boeckh's *Inscriptiones Græcæ*, records a vote of public gratitude to a citizen named Protogenes who had extricated the town out of many dangers and difficulties. It gives us the state of it. It was impoverished and distressed. Barbarians from the parts around impoverished and distressed it. Some were Scythians, some Sarm, etc., some Galatæ. The Olbians paid tribute to the former, and intermarried with them. The Scythian Prince Scyles was eminently Philhellene, too much so for his own good, for his partiality cost him his life. This placed the town in jeopardy. Corn was dear. The fortifications had to be strengthened. About fifty years B.C. it was sacked by the Getae and deserted. The fugitives, however, returned, and Olbia grew up afresh—smaller and weaker. Still it revived, and was visited afterwards by Dion Chrysostom, who describes it.

I hold that these Galatæ were men who spoke the language to which the words *Ilalicz*, *Kallatis*, and *Galacz* belonged, this language being not Keltic, but Sarmatian, i.e. either Slavonic or Lithuanic.

With this remark we may return to the true Gallic frontier, for the part north of Switzerland, or Helvetia.

SECTION XIII

KELTS OF WURTEMBERG—DECUMATES AGRI AND VINDELICIA

The Decumates Agri were divided between the Helvetii and Boni, the former certainly, the latter probably, Kelts.

Afterwards, the history of the Decumates Agri is as follows.

First, i.e. in the time of Tacitus it was a district whither the malcontents of all the frontier states resorted. I think it was a debatable ground, or if not debatable, unappropriated.

Secondly, it became German, i.e. in the time of Probus, and, perhaps, earlier, when the Germans of the Upper Rhine encroached upon it.

This it has been ever since

Whether the Kelts were the earliest occupants is another question. The text of Tacitus is, "Non numeraverim inter Germaniæ populos, quinquam trans Rhenum Danubiumque condescerint, eos, qui Decumates agros exercent. Levissimus quisque Gallorum, et inopiâ audax, dubiæ possessionis solum occupavere. Mox limite acto, præmotisque præsidis, sinus imperii, et pars provinciæ habentur."

SECTION XIV

KELTS OF BAVARIA—VINDELICIA.

There were some Kelts in Vindelicia, the testimony of more than one writer being to the effect that Vindelicia was a Keltic area, testimony which is strengthened by the local names *Cambo-dunum*, *Aito-briga*, and, perhaps, others. The Kelts of Vindelicia may have stretched into the northern parts of Noricum. *Carnuntum* was, probably, Keltic.

Whether they were the oldest inhabitants is another question. I think they were not. The text of Cæsar is against the notion of their having been so. "There was a time," he writes, "when the Gauls encroached on the Germans. The Volcæ Tectosages occupied and settled in a part of the Hercynian Forest. They are still there, content, just, and warlike, and, like the Germans, frugal and penurious." Bell. Gall. 6, 21.

There is much to notice in this passage. First comes the division between what Cæsar might have known as a cotemporary witness and what he could only have heard from others. He might have known that the Volcæ Tectosages were occupants of a trans-Rhenane district, though even in this respect he might possibly be misinformed. In respect to the manner of their arrival thither, he was very likely to be informed. Say that there were Volcæ in both Gaul and the Hercynian Forest, and that the former were the intruders, who had become Gallicized, and the line of migration would be reversed, and Hercynian foresters who had settled in Gaul might pass for indigene, or, at any rate, the Gauls might choose to call them so. They might account for the appearance of the two populations in different areas by the statement that they (the Gauls) had penetrated into Germany, and

not certain Germans into Gaul The bearing of this will appear in the sequel

The term is peculiar No undoubted Keltic name is like it Few consist of two words

In the next place, both the elements appear elsewhere

Thirdly, they have not only no definite and straightforward meaning in any Keltic language, but have, partially, a non-Keltic look, inasmuch as *Fole* is equally like the Latin *vulg-us*, the German *folk*, and the Sarmatian *pull*

On the other hand, there is a point or two connected with them which is pretty clear It is clear that, of the two terms, the general one is *Folæ*, the qualifying or specific one, *Tectosages* Thus we learn from the division into *Folæ Tectosages* and *Folæ Arecomici*, for these are the names of two populations, which, though of no great prominence in the pages of Cæsar, from the fact of their having belonged to a part of Gaul which was reduced before his Consulship, are by no means to be overlooked

The metropolis of the Tectosages was Tolosa or Thoulouse

It is probable that the termination *ag* is non-radical, being the *eg* in such words as *Bithon-eg* and *Saeson aeg*, etc., *Biton-s* and *Saxon-s* If so, the inflection is more evidently Keltic than the root That the word is a Gallic gloss is clear

It may have been this, however, and yet the populations that bore it, have been other than Kelt

This is as much as need be said at present

SECTION XV

KELTS OF BOHEMIA

The existence of these will be investigated in the chapter on the Boii

SECTION XVI

THE GOTHINI

In the forty-third section of the *Germania* of Tacitus we read, "Gothinos Gallica, Osos Pannonica lingua coarguit, non esse Germanos, et quòd tributù patiuntur partem tributorum Sar-

matæ, partem Quadi, ut alienigenis, imponunt Gothini, quò magis pudeat, et ferrum effodiunt omnesque hi populi pauca campestrium, ceterum saltus et vertices montium jugumque insecderunt”

Reasons for believing *Gallica* to mean Gallician have been given in Section XI

SECTION XVII

KELTS OF THRACE, MACEDON, AND GREECE

There is no want of evidence to the fact of battles having been fought in Thrace, Macedon, and Greece, against populations which good historians name Galatæ. They were fought by the Macedonian kings and by the Romans. They are noticed by Polybius, by Livy, by Appian, by Athenæus, and by Pausanias.

On the other hand, they are generally stated to have been fought against the Scordisci Galatæ, and the possibility of these being Gallician has been indicated.

The sack of Delphi was effected by Galatæ.

Now, over and above the name, there are two material facts which, from the numerous notices either of Galatæ *eo nomine*, or of invasions of Greece from the north, command notice. The first favours the doctrine that they were Slavonians, the second, the doctrine that they were Kelts.

1 The Costoboci were a population on the frontier of, or in, Gallicia, and these in the time of Pausanias invaded Greece and penetrated as far as Elatea (Paus ix 34). I submit that this evidence is to the fact of Gallicia being near enough to Greece to supply an invasion of its soil. I think, indeed, that these very Costoboci may have been a detail of the Gallician name.

2 So unexceptionable an author as Polybius connects them with a king with the undoubtedly Kelt name, Brennus.

1 by no means undervalue this argument in favour of their Kelt affinities. Nevertheless, I take exceptions to it. The notice of Brennus is incidental. He is not their leader. Their leader is Comontorius. Who, then, was Brennus? What Polybius says is this—“These Galatæ (viz, those under Comontorius), moved along with those with Brennus out of their own country.” He continues—that having retreated from Delphi, they harassed the neighbourhood of Byzantium, etc (iv 46).

Now if we look upon this Brennus as the cotemporary of Comontorius, we have no choice between gratuitously impeaching the accuracy of an excellent writer, and making his soldiers Gauls of Gaul. But I submit that the Biennus meant by Polybius was the Biennus who sacked Rome more than 100 years before, and that all he meant to say was that the Galatæ of Comontorius were Galatæ of the migration under Biennus. This is a matter in which a better ethnologist than any of antiquity might err. He meant, I submit, to tell the Romans that the Galatæ who ravaged Greece were of the same stock as those who ravaged Italy.

Nevertheless, numerous authors read him as if he made the leadership of Biennus as much a matter of history as that of Comontorius. Hence Pausanias and Athenæus make the former the actual commander during the war.

The question, however, has still to be further considered. The Galatæ of Thrace, Macedon, and Greece are, almost certainly, in the same category with the Galatæ of

SECTION XVIII

KELTS OF GALATIA

The history of the population from which the Asiatic district of Galatia took its name is obscure. Niebuhr says this, adding that materials sufficient to elucidate it exist, but that they require putting together. The following sketch is from his *Lectures on Roman History* (vol. II p. 188) —“In the spring of the year after this” (A.D. 562), “(in) Manlius Vulso, the successor of L. Cornélius Scipio, anxious for an opportunity to undertake something from which he might derive fame and wealth—a desire which is henceforward the prevailing characteristic of the Roman generals—made a campaign against the Galatians, or Gallo-Greeks, in Phrygia. In the time of Pyrrhus, these Gauls had penetrated through Macedonia into Greece, as far as Delphi, afterwards they went eastward to Thrace, but whether they were, as the Greeks relate, induced to do so by fearful natural phenomena, or were attracted by reports about the delightful countries of Asia, is uncertain. Many remained in Thrace, and ruled over the country, but others, twenty thousand in number, crossed over into Asia, in two divisions, the one going across the

Hellespont, and the other across the Bosporus, and their enterprise was facilitated by the feuds of the Asiatic princes. There they settled on the northern coast, in the territory about Ancyra, in Phrygia, just as, at a later period, the Normans did in Neustria. They inhabited thirty-three towns, in a country which, though it seems to have been destined by Providence to be one of the most flourishing and happy in the world, is now, under the despotism of barbarians, like an accursed desert. They consisted of three tribes, bearing the strange names of Trocmi, Tolistoboni, and Tectosagæ. The first two seem to have been formed during their wanderings, for they are not mentioned elsewhere. They united with the Bithynians, where two small kingdoms were growing up. The Bithynians were Thracians settled between Nicomedia and Heraclea, during the time of the Persian dominion they were governed by native princes, and after the dissolution of the Persian and Macedonian empires, the latter of which had always been least consolidated in Asia Minor, they extended themselves, and acquired considerable importance. Nicomedes, then king, took those Gauls into his pay, there being then only ten thousand armed men among them, defeated his rival, and founded the Bithynian state, which gradually became Hellenised. From that time, the Gauls sold their services to any one who might seek them, and made the whole of western Asia tributary to themselves. Their history is yet in great confusion, but it can be cleared up, many materials existing for it. They were defeated by Antiochus Soter, whereupon they withdrew into the mountains, whence they afterwards burst forth whenever circumstances allowed them, and all the neighbouring nations paid tribute, to escape their devastations. But when the war between Ptolemy Euergetes and Seleucus Callinicus, and afterwards that between the former and Antiochus Hierax broke out, they showed themselves thoroughly faithless, selling themselves sometimes to the one, sometimes to the other, and were the scourge of all Asia, until, to the amazement of every body, Attalus of Pergamus refused to pay tribute, attacked and defeated them, a fact which can be accounted for only on the supposition, that through idleness they had become quite effeminate and unwarlike, like the Goths whom Belisarius found in Italy. They never entirely recovered from this blow, though they still continued to exercise considerable influence, for Asia was always divided, and although Antiochus was staying in those countries, he was

too much occupied to turn his attention to them, and would not, moreover, have been able to protect that part of Phrygia bordering on the district inhabited by the Gauls. Hence they still levied tribute far and wide, and after the fall of Antiochus, the Asiatic nations dreaded lest they should be unable to defend themselves. This gave Cn Manlius an opportunity of undertaking a campaign against them, and to come forward as the protector of the Asiatics against the Galatians. His demand that they should submit had been answered by those barbarians with a *stolida jecroia*, and he accordingly marched through Phrygia, and attacked them in their mountains, without, however, extirpating them. They continued in those districts, and preserved their Celtic language for a remarkably long period. We find it even in the time of Augustus, but they, too, became Hellenised, and in this condition we find them at the time of St Paul. The campaign of Manlius Vulso against them was most desirable to the inhabitants of Asia Minor, but on the part of the Romans, it was very unjust, for Manlius Vulso undertook it contrary to the express will of the *decem legati* who followed him to Asia. The war was brought to a close in two campaigns, but the Romans derived no advantages from it, except the booty, and perhaps a sum of money which was paid to them, for the countries between Western Asia and the districts of the Galatians were not subject to the Romans, but only allied with them. The Galatians suffered so severe a defeat, that from this time forward they continued to live in quiet obedience to the Romans."

There is no doubt as to the opinion of the writer of this extract respecting both the previous history and the ethnological affinities of these Galatæ of Galatia. They were the Galatæ of Macedonia, Greece, and Thrace. They were, doubtless, too the Galatæ of the Olbian Inscription. This is likely.

But they were also Kelts, inasmuch as their language is especially called Celtic.

This is problematic.

The material facts in favor of their being so (the name being held to prove nothing), are—

1st The probability that they were the Gauls in whose history Polybius gives us the Celtic name Brennus. (See *preceding Section*)

2nd The following passage from Livy—"Non plus ex viginti milibus hominum, quam decem armata erant. Tamen tantum

terroris omnibus, quæ cis Taurum incolunt, gentibus injecerunt, ut, quas adissent quasque non adissent, pariter ultimæ propinquis, imperio parerent Postremo, quum tres essent gentes, Tolistobon, Troemi, Tectosagi, in tres partes, qua cuquo populorum suorum vectigalis Asia esset, diviserunt Troemis Hellesponti ora data, Tolistobon Æolida atque Ioniam, *Tectosagi* mediterranea Asiæ sortiti sunt, et stipendium tota cis Taurum Asia exigebant Sedem autem ipsi sibi circa Halyn flumen ceperunt, tantusque terror eorum nominis erat, multitudine etiam magna sobole aucta, ut Syriæ quoque ad postremum reges stipendium dare non abnuerent Primus Asiam incolentium abnuat Attalus, pater regis Eumænis "

This gives us the name Tectosage (See *Section XIV*)

3rd The statement of St Jerome, that the language of the Galatæ was that of the Treveri or people of Treves (Prolegomen lib ii ad Epist ad Galat)—"Unum est quod inferimus et promissum in exordio reddimus, *Galatas* excepto sermone Græco, quo omnis Oriens loquitur, propriam linguam eandem pene habere quam *Treveri*, nec referre si aliqua exinde corruerint, quum et Alii Phœnicum linguam nonnulla ex parte mutaverint, et ipsa Latinitas et regionibus quotidie mutetur et tempore "

4th The names *Eccobriga*, *Axtoriziacum*, and *Roslogiacum*, in Galatia

Singly, each of these is exceptionable The extent to which the text of Polybius which speaks of Brennus is to be interpreted differently from the text which speaks of Comontorius has already been noticed

The possibility of the Tectosages of Gaul having been intrusive has also been noticed I do not, however, lay much stress on this Let it be granted that they were Gauls It is more material to observe that the name in Polybius is *Αυγόςακαι*. Of course, there has been no want of commentators who change this into Tectosage at once But is this legitimate? On the other hand, Appian and Strabo give us Livy's form And this is, probably, the right one

Upon the text of St Jerome, Niebuhr himself, Gallie as his doctrines are, writes—"St Jerome says that he heard the same language in Phrygia as at Treves, but this cannot be referred to the Galatians, and St Jerome probably saw Germans who had settled in Phrygia at different times, especially Goths, in the reign of Theodosius It may be looked upon as an established

fact that *Treies was German*, and it is not likely that the Gallic language maintained itself in Asia down to so late a period."

The forms in *briga* and *acum* are important. At the same time it must be remembered that the Thracians have a form in *bria* (*Mesembria*, etc.), of which *briga* (which is modern Slavonic), may be the fuller form.

Upon the name *Tolistobon* I lay little stress. It may as easily be Slavonic as Kelt, as is shown in the sequel. Add to this, that it is only in the text of *Livy* that this form appears, a form suggesting the notion of the populations who bore it being *Bon*. Appian gives *Τολιστόβιοι*, Strabo and Ptolemy *Τολιστόβωγοι* and *Τολιστόβωγοι*—forms which give us the *-bos* in *Costoboci*, a name which has appeared in the preceding chapter.

Letting this, then, stand for nothing, we find that none of the points are unexceptionable. In *Nubul*'s exception, however, I by no means join. On the contrary, I see in the text of St Jerome a strong argument against my doctrine that the Galatians were Gallicians, or, at any rate, not Galli of Gallia,—strong, but not conclusive.

No one but those who have had special experience in the matter, know how utterly untrustworthy the most respectable informants are upon matters of language, in which there is the slightest dash of hypothesis. By one truthful and educated narrator I have been told that, when he landed some negroes in Australia, they could converse with the natives. He was evidently struck with the fact of the latter being blacks. From another I have learned that a crew of Bretons understood the natives of Tunis. How? Because the Kelt tongues were so like the Hebrew, and the Carthaginian was the same. Thus was my informant's belief, and he made the fact to match,—made and believed as much as if it were real.

Evidence, however, is evidence, and we must take it as we find it. Again, exceptionable as the facts are, there are three of them, and these three taken together prove more than three times as much as any one of them taken singly, the argument here being cumulative.

I state this, and leave the reader to draw his inference. Perhaps the evidence laid before him is in favor of the Kelt doctrine, and, perhaps, my own opinion to the contrary rests upon a foundation which the present notice has failed to display. I am inclined to think that this is really the case. A more than

ordinary unwillingness to assume a mile more of migration than is necessary, a more than ordinary unwillingness to adopt the statements of ancient authors upon matters beyond the range of their actual fields of observation, and a decided belief that the Sarmatian populations played a much greater part in the history of the ancient world than is usually assigned to them, have more to do with my conclusion than the actual objections that lie against the facts under notice.

There are, certainly, *some* errors in the ordinary accounts. Pausanias makes Brennus the actual leader. Justin takes his Gauls back to Tolosa. Mela makes the Rhone the boundary between the Volce and the Cava. Meanwhile —

Ptolemy gives us in Galatia a place called Tolosta (not Tolosa), or, in full, Tolostokhoia (possibly a Slavonic Tolostogorod), whilst Polybius makes Cavarus the name of a king. Then the names *Thoom-i* and *Aiecom-ici* are alike, at least as much as *Tolisto-bogii* and *Tolosa Bogii*.

Finally, I should add that the names Volce, Tectosages, and Cava, in Gaul, are, solely and wholly, geographical. Historical they are not. No one tells us anything that any one of them did. All that we are told is that there were certain localities eminently Greek and Gallic, and that certain towns were in their country — Tolosa in that of the Tectosages, just as Tolostu was in Galatia.

What if they had no existence except in the eyes of the geographers? What if some of the more learned Gauls having heard that there were Gauls in Galatia, brought Galatia within the boundaries of the Hercynian forest, as part of *Gallian* Galatia actually was?

There is error somewhere, and, in my mind, error to the extent here indicated. That the question is important is obvious. If the Galatians were actually Gallic, all the presumptions against the Scordisci, the Bastunæ, and the Galatæ of the Olbian Inscription being Kelts, vanishes. If men from Gallia could be in Galatia, they could be anywhere.

What is the local dialect of the parts corresponding to the ancient Galati? What are the words foreign to the ordinary Turkish of the district? What are the Galatian elements? No one knows. When, however, they are known, the question will be settled. If Keltic, the whole Gallician, if Slavonic, the whole Gallic hypothesis, breaks down. Time will, perhaps, decide. Here follows in full the text of Polybius —

Ἄλλ' ὅμως τὸν μὲν ἀπὸ Θρακῶν πόλεμον κατὰ τὴν συνθήειαν ἀναφέροντες, ἔμενον ἐπὶ τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς δικαίων πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας προσεπιγενομένων δὲ Γαλατῶν αὐτοῖς τῶν περὶ Κομοντόριον ἑῖς πᾶν ἦλθον περιστάσεως

Οὗτοι δ' ἐκίνησαν μὲν ἅμα τοῖς περὶ Βρέννον ἐκ τῆς οἰκείας διαφυγόντες δὲ τὸν περὶ Δεελφούς κίνδυνον, καὶ παραγενόμενοι πρὸς τὸν Ἑλλησποντον, εἰς μὲν τὴν Ἀσίαν οὐκ ἐπεραιώθησαν αὐτοῦ δὲ κατέμειναν, διὰ τὸ φιλοχωρῆσαι τοῖς περὶ τὸ Βυζάντιον τόποις οἳ καὶ κρατήσαντες τῶν Θρακῶν, καὶ κατασκευασάμενοι βασιλείῃον τὴν Τύλην, εἰς ὁλοσχερῇ κίνδυνον ἤγον τοὺς Βυζαντίους Κατὰ μὲν οὖν τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐν ταῖς ἐφόδοις αὐτῶν, ταῖς κατὰ Κομοντόριον, τὸν πρῶτον βασιλεύσαντα, ὥρα διετέλουν οἱ Βυζάντιοι διδόντες, ἀνὰ τρισχιλίους, καὶ πεντακισχιλίους, ποτὲ δὲ καὶ μυρίους χρυσοῦς ἐφ' ᾧ μὴ καταφθίρειν τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν τέλος δ' ἠναγκάσθησαν οἰδοήκοντα τάλαντα συγχωρῆσαι φόρον τελεῖν κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν, ἕως εἰς Καύαρον ἐφ' οὗ κατελύθη μὲν ἡ βασιλεία τὸ δὲ γένος αὐτῶν ἐξεφθάρη πᾶν ὑπὸ Ορρακῶν ἐκ μεταβολῆς ἐπικρατηθέν ἐν οἷς καιροῖς ὑπὸ τῶν φόρων πιεζόμενοι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐπρέσβευον πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, δεόμενοι σφίσι βοηθεῖν καὶ συγχωρηγεῖν εἰς τοὺς περιστάσας καιροὺς τῶν δὲ πλείστων παρολιγωρούντων, ἐνεχείρησαν ἐπαναγκασθέντες παραγωγιάζειν τοὺς εἰς τὸν Πόντον πλείοντας

Of all possible literary forgeries, few have struck me as being more practicable than that of St Paul's Epistle to the Galatians in the native language. It might so easily be found in some Armenian monastery, it might so easily be made up out of a Welsh and Irish Testament, it would so readily find defenders in the more Celtic parts of the earth, that we are fortunate in never having had our credulity tested by some unscrupulous and ingenious machinator. If the whole Epistle were too much, glosses on some Greek, Persian, or Armenian copy of it would be practicable, for which the existing interlineation of more than one MS. of the tenth century would be useful.

We have escaped, however, the fraud, and this is written to ensure, as much as possible, our escape for the future.

The northern frontier of Gaul now commands our notice, and brings us to

SECTION XIX

KELTS OF BELGIUM, AND THE LOWER AND MIDDLE RHINE

The Belgian area is made by Cæsar part and parcel of Gallia, but this is not sufficient to make the Belgæ Gauls. Aquitania is also part of Gaul, yet the Aquitani were no Kelts, but Iberians.

The chief positive fact in favour of the Celtic affinities of Belgium is, that the local names agree so closely in form with those

of the undoubted Gauls, as to be wholly undistinguishable. The towns, etc., end in *-acum*, *-briva*, *-magus*, *-dunum*, and *-durum*, and begin with *Ver-*, *Cær-*, *Con-*, and *Tre-*, just like those of Central Gallia, so that we have—to go no further than the common maps — *Virioviacum*, *Minori-acum*, *Origi-acum*, *Turn-acum*, *Bag-acum*, *Camar-acum*, *Nemet-acum*, *Catusi-acum*, *Gemini-acum*, *Blari-acum*, *Mederi-acum*, *Tolbi-acum*, *Samaro-briva*, *Novio-magus*, *Moso-magus*, *Vio-dunum*, *Marco-dunum*, *Theodurum*, *Ver-omandui*, *Cær-esi*, *Con-drusi*, *Tre-veri*—all Keltic forms and compounds.

There would be no difficulty in the question, if it were not for the following extract from Cæsar:—“*Quum ab his quæreret et, quæ civitates, quantæque in armis essent, et quid in bello possent, sic reperiebat. pleiosque Belgis esse citos à Germanis, Rhenumque antiquitatis transductos, propter loci fertilitatem ibi consedisse, Gallosque, qui ea loca incolerent, expulisse, solosque esse, qui patrum nostrorum memoriâ, omni Galliâ vexatâ, Teutonos, Cimbroque intra fines suos ingredi prohibuerint. Quâ ex re fieri, uti earum rerum memoriâ magnam sibi auctoritatem, magnosque spiritus in re militari sumerent. De numero eorum omnia se habere explorata. Rhemi dicebant, propter propinquitatibus affinitatibusque conjuncti, quantum quisque multitudinem in communi Belgarum concilio, ad id bellum pollicitus sit, cognoverint. Plurimum inter eos Bellovacos, et virtute, et auctoritate, et hominum numero valere. hos posse conficere armata milia centum, pollicito ex eo numero lecta nulla ex, totiusque belli impertum sibi postulare. Suëssones suos esse finitimos latissimos, feracissimosque agros possidere. Apud eos fuisse regem nostriâ etiam memoriâ Divitiacum, totius Galliæ potentissimum, qui quum magnæ partis harum regionum, tum etiam Britannæ, impertum obtinuerint nunc esse regem Galbam. ad hunc propter justitiam, prudentiamque, summam totius belli omnium voluntate ceteri oppida habere numero xii polliceri milia armata quinquaginta totidem Nervios, qui maximè feri inter ipsos habebantur, longissimèque absint. xv milia Atrebatas Ambianos x milia Morinos xxv milia Menapios ix milia Calletes x milia Velocasses et Veromanduos totidem Aduaticos xxix milia Condrusos, Eburones, Cæræsos, Pæmanos, qui uno nomine Germani appellantur, arbitrari ad xl milia.”*

Add to this the following notices, which, taken along with the one just quoted, have, to many, seemed conclusive —

Gallia est omnis divisa in tres partes, quarum unam incolunt Belgæ, aliam Aquitani, tertiam, qui ipsorum lingua Celtæ, nostra Galli, appellantur. Hi omnes lingua institutis, legibus inter se differunt. Gallos—a Belgis Matrona et Sequana dividit”—B G 1
 “Belgæ ab extremis Galliæ finibus oriuntur”—B G 11

Strabo writes, that “the Aquitani are wholly different from the other Gauls, not only in language, but in their bodies,—wherein they are more like the Iberians than the Gauls. The rest are Gallic in look, but not all alike in language. Some differ a little. Their politics, too, and manners of life differ a little”—lib iv c 1

The local names, however, are Gallic. Who supplied them? Probably the Belgæ themselves. If so, it is inconceivable that they should have used nothing but Gallic terms. If, however, they were not Belgæ, the inference is invalidated, inasmuch as Noviomagus, etc., may have been German towns under Gallic names.

But the names of the individual Belgian chiefs are as Gallic as those of the towns and nations, e. g. *Commus* and *Druetiacus*.

Upon the whole, I maintain that the Pœmani, etc., were members of a German confederacy, the word German being a political rather than an ethnological term.

Other facts, as well as the opinion of a safe authority, against the German character of the Belgæ, may be seen in the Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography, under the word *Belgæ* (of *Gaul*).

Some lie in the indelicacy of Cæsar's language respecting these same Belgæ. In “describing the position of his troops during the winter of the year B C 54-53, he speaks of three legions being quartered in Belgium, or among the Belgæ, while he mentions others as quartered among the Morini, the Nervii, the Eboraci, the Remi, the Treveri, and the Eburones, all of whom are Belgæ in the wider sense of the term.”

Others lie in the *reductio ad absurdum*. If every population which can be construed into *Belgian*, be German as well, several populations, whose Celtic character is beyond doubt, will be transferred from the Celtic stock, which is their right, to the German, which is their wrong, place. The Veneti will be in this predicament. So will the Mediomatrici of Lorraine, the Leuci, south of the Mediomatrici, and the Parisii of Paris. So will the Aulerci, and others.

Others lie in the expression of Tacitus concerning the Treveri and Nervii, *circa affectationem*, etc. “The Treveri and Nervii

affected a German origin, which, if it be true, must imply that they had some reason for affecting it, and also that they were not pure Germans, or they might have said so. Strabo (p 192) makes the Nervii Germans. The fact of Cæsar making such a river as the *Marne* a boundary between Belgic and Celtic peoples, is a proof that he saw some marked distinction between Belgæ and Celtæ, though there were many points of resemblance. Now, as most of the Belgæ were Germans, or of German origin, as the Romans believed or said, there must have been some who were not Germans or of German origin, and if we exclude the Menapii, the savage Nervii, and the pure Germans, we cannot affirm that any of the remainder of the Belgæ were Germans.—*Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, v. *Belgæ*

So much against the German character of the Belgæ of Gaul. The chief (perhaps the only) material fact in its favour is the following. The evidence that the Batavi and Caninates, of Holland, were German, is very strong. Nevertheless, the Batavi formed part of the Gallia of Cæsar. More than this, the names of two Batavian localities, *Lug-dunum* and *Bataiodunum*, are clearly Celtic. There are more ways than one of explaining this. Thus, the towns may have come to us in their Celtic names only, the native ones having been unknown to the early geographers. Or, the original population may have been Celtic, the Batavi having been intrusive. I give this argument its full weight, nevertheless, I submit that the balance of reasons is against the Belgæ having been German.

Now comes a point of British ethnology. Cæsar writes that "the interior of Britain is inhabited by those who are recorded to have been born in the island itself, whereas the sea-coast is the occupancy of immigrants from the country of the Belgæ, brought over for the sake of either war or plunder. All these are called by names nearly the same as those of the States they came from, names which they have retained in the country upon which they made war, and in the land whereon they settled"—*Bell Gall* lib v, cap 12.

If the Belgæ, then, were Germans, many of the Britons must have been so as well.

Cæsar's statement is that there were certain Belgians in Britain, but he nowhere says that *Belgæ* was the name by which they were called.

Ptolemy gives us the name *Belgæ*, but he nowhere says that the population which bore it came from Belgium

How far do these two authors mean the same population ?

Ptolemy's locality, though the exact extent of the area is doubtful, is, to a certain degree, very definitely fixed. The Belgæ lay to the south of the Dobuni, whose chief town was Corineum (*Cirencester*). They also lay to the east and north of the Durotriges of Dorchester. Venta (*Winchester*) was one of the towns, and Aquæ Solis (*Bath*), another, Calleva (*Salisbury*) was *not* one of them, on the contrary, it belonged to the Atrebatii. This coincides nearly with the county of Wilts, parts of Somerset and Hants being also included.

The Belgæ of Ptolemy agree with those of Cæsar only in belonging to the southern parts of Britain. They are chiefly an inland population, and touch the sea only on the south and west, not on the east, or the parts more especially opposite Belgium.

The second name is that of the *Atrebates*. There were *Atrebates* in Britain. In Belgium there were *Atrebates* in *Artois*, which is only *Atrebates* in a modern form. Considerable importance attaches to the fact that, before Cæsar visited Britain in person, he sent Commius, the Atrebatian, before him. Now, this Commius was first conquered by Cæsar, and afterwards set up as a king over the Morini. That Commius gave much of his information about Britain to Cæsar is likely, perhaps he was his chief informant. He, too, it was who, knowing the existence of Atrebates in Britain, probably drew the inference which has been so lately suggested, *viz.*, that of a Belgæ migration, or a series of them. Yet the Atrebates of Britain were so far from being on the coast, that they must have lain west of London, in Berkshire and Wilts, since Cæsar, who advanced at least as far as Chertsey, where he crossed the Thames, meets nothing but Cantu, Trinobantes, Cenimagni, Segontiaci, Ancalites, Brooci, and Cassi. It is Ptolemy who first mentions the British Atrebates, and he places them between the Dobuni and the Cantu. Now, as the Dobuni lay due west of the Silures of South Wales, we cannot bring the Atrebates nearer the coast than Windsor, at most.

A further fact against the existence of any notably great German population in Britain lies in a well-known passage of Tacitus. Tacitus, who was fully as well informed in respect to the population of Britain as Cæsar, has a special speculation as to the existence of Germans in that island. He looks out for them

How does he find them? Not in the plain straightforward way that he would have done had Cæsar's account been correct, and the whole south-eastern coast been German, but doubtfully, and by the circuitous method of an inference. He finds certain light-haired, big-bodied men, and accounts for their being so by the hypothesis of a German origin. *Where* does he find them? Not in Kent and Sussex, but in Scotland.

Upon the whole, the facts against the Belgæ of Britain being at one and the same time Belgæ from Gaul, and German in blood, largely preponderate against the conclusion to be drawn from the text and context of Cæsar. In my own mind his statement arose out of an *inference*—either one of his own, or one of his probable informant's, Commius. The same names appeared on both sides of the Channel, in Britain as well as in Gaul. Out of this fact arose, as a legitimate deduction, the identity or similarity of the two peoples, and, as a somewhat less legitimate one, the doctrine of a recent conquest from Belgium.

I will not absolutely commit myself to a similar doctrine in respect to Ptolemy, though, upon the whole, I think that it applies to him also. It is *likely* that his Belgæ were hypothetical, and that no population in Britain gave themselves that name. No traces of it exist. This, however, is of no great weight until it be taken with the difficulties of Ptolemy's text, which, although by no means inconsiderable when compared with those of Cæsar's notice, are still greater when we take it in detail—"Next to these (*viz* the Silures) the Dobuni, and their town Corineum. Next, the Atrebatii, and their town Nalkua. Beyond whom are the Cantii, the easternmost people. Amongst them are these towns, Londinium, Davenum, Rhutupiæ. Again, south from the Atrebatii and the Cantii, lie the Regni and the town Næomagus. South of the Dobuni, (*i e* the parts about Corineum = Cirencester) lie the Belgæ, and the towns Ischalis, Hot Springs, Venta. Beyond these, on the west and south, are the Durotriges" (*i e* Dorsetshire).

Here we have more than one point of undoubted certainty, *e g* Corineum = Cirencester, Hot Springs = Bath, Venta = Winchester, to say nothing about others less universally admitted. Nevertheless, the Belgæ are a difficult population, lying as far west as Bath, as far east as Winchester—as far west as Bath, and yet having the Durotriges to the *west* also. Were there two towns named Venta for these parts, one in Hants, and the other

in Wilts? Not impossible, inasmuch as the word was a *common*, rather than a *proper* name, and there were *Ventæ* elsewhere, e.g. (a *Venta Icenorum*) in Norfolk. Such and suchlike assumptions may reconcile the difficulties of the text of Ptolemy. They will, however, not improbably involve a greater amount of complication and hypothesis than the simpler doctrine that Ptolemy's Belgæ, under that name, had no existence in Britain at all, but that the authority of Cæsar had led him to infer it, and also to place them in the south. This, however, is a suggestion rather than a material fact. The material fact is the non-Germanic character of any Belgæ that might have been there. That there were *some* strangers is likely enough, but that they were a separate substantive population, of sufficient magnitude to be found in all the parts of Britain where Belgic names occurred, and still more that they were Germans, is an unsafe inference.

It is likely, too, that there were *some* German elements in Belgium. There may have been a German aristocracy. Nevertheless, Belgium must be looked upon as essentially Celtic ground at the beginning of the historical period.

There were populations in

The Valley of the Rhine, which were, more or less, in the same category with the Pæmani, etc. Such were the Treveri and Nervii of the following extract from the *Germania* of Tacitus —

“Treveri et Nervii circa affectationem Germanicæ originis ultro ambitiosi sunt, tamquam, per hanc gloriam sanguinis, a similitudine et inertia Gallorum separentur. Ipsam Rheni ripam haud dubiè Germanorum populi colunt, Vangiones, Triboci, Nemetes. Ne Ubi quidem, quamquam, Romana colonia ~~esso~~ meruerint, ac libentius *Agrippinenses* conditoris sui nomine vocentur, origine erubescunt, transgressi olim, et experimento fidei super ipsam Rheni ripam collocati, ut arcerent, non ut custodirentur.”

The consideration, however, of the exact details of the minute ethnology of the frontier in question is no part of a notice so general as the present.

We know that if a given tribe was not Gallic, it was German, and that, whether German or Gallic, it was on the frontier of the Gallo-German area.

The bearings of the nationality of the Treveri have been indicated in the preceding section.

SECTION XX

THE LIGURIANS

In writing on the Ligurians, in his Physical History, Dr Prichard makes an observation that, whether made or not, whenever we find a gloss, should always be acted upon. He remarks upon the term *Algyes*, Ligur and Liguria (chap. iii, sect. 11) that "the name admits an easy explanation in the Celtic languages. It may have been derived from *Llygwyn*, which means, in Welsh, *men of the sea-coast*. But if this was its real origin, it does not prove that the people were Celts, since the designation is one more likely to have been bestowed upon them by a neighbouring tribe, than assumed by themselves." That the supposed power of the word Ligur does not prove the people who were designated by it to be Kelts, is perfectly true. But it is also true that it proves nothing the other way. The term *coastmen* was just as likely to be applied by one Celtic tribe to another, as to one of a different stock. The term *Marchmen* was applied by Germans to Germans.

In the opinion of the present writer, the rules of ethnological evidence are in favour of the Kelts and Ligurians being referred to the same race.

The word Kelt itself, was, probably, Ligurian as well as Gallic and Iberic, &c. it was probably used by the Ligurians, though not necessarily originating with them. And this use would be important, inasmuch as the Ligurians and the Greeks came in contact betimes. The Phœceans founded the colony of Marseilles, and it was not long before the parts along the coast, and to some distance inland, became imperfectly known. When Prometheus gives to Hercules the details of his travels westward, he says that, "You" (Hercules) "shall reach the fearless people of the Lagyes, where, with all your bravery, you shall find no fault with their warlike vigour. It is ordained that you shall leave your arrows behind. But, as all the country is soft, you shall be unable to find a stone. Then Zeus shall see you in distress, and pity you, and overshadow the land with a cloud, whence a storm of round stones shall rain down. With these you shall easily smite and pursue the army of the Lagyes."

Such is the gist of a quotation from a writer so early as Æschylus, in his drama of the Prometheus Unbound, as given by Strabo

The history of one of the few Ligurian glosses we have, is curious, and instructive as well. It reads us a lesson of caution. Polybius gives us the word *Bodencos*. Pliny tells us it meant *bottomless* (*fundo carens*). In German, *boden* = *floor, soil, bottom*, etc. Dr Prichard asks, more as a suggestion than aught else, whether instead of *c* we may not read *l*, so making the word *boden-los* = *bottom-less*, so, too, making the word German, and drawing our inferences accordingly in favor of an early German occupancy of Northern Italy.

Now, see how Sir F. Palgrave treats the word—"No small portion of the pleasure accompanying historical investigation, results from the stimulus afforded by the attempts to expound the dark riddle of past ages, the more difficult the problem, the greater the interest attending its solution. Imperfect are the data upon which the etymologist investigates the early history of the great Teutonic and Celtic families, somewhat more extensive than the two words which include the whole pith of the Pictish controversy, but not very much more. He has to deal with scattered, scanty, and unsatisfactory materials, usually a name of a town, mountain, or river—misheard by the stranger, misread by the author, or corrupted by the transcriber. *Bodenkos*, as we are told by Polybius, was the name given to the Po *fundo carens*, is Pliny's interpretation. Metrodorus informs us that it was a Ligurian word. Is it not Celtic? for there was a town *Bodincomagus*—and we are asked whether *bodenkos* can be explained from the Celtic tongues? Read *bodenlos*—amend the penman's error, and you will have a pure German term"—*History of Normandy and England*, vol. 1, p. 40.

This is the way in which suggestions become opinions, and opinions facts, ethnology suffering. The truth is that, whether the meaning *fundo carens* can be got from the German easier than from the Celtic, or from the Celtic easier than the German, the termination *-ncum* is both Gallic and British—being the termination of *Habitancum* and *Vapincum*, localities where Germans are out of the question.

Let it be understood, then, that the high probability of the Ligurians having been Kelts is not disturbed by the word *Bodencus*.

SECTION XXI

THE KELTS OF THE SPANISH PENINSULA

We have already seen that some one in Spain called some one else by the name of Keltæ, that a population so called was to be found in the north and south of Portugal and elsewhere

What is the inference from this? That these Keltæ were of the same stock with the Gauls? Not necessarily. At the present time, the word *Welsh* is German. It is applied to a population on the west of the German area, viz, the occupants of the Principality of Wales. It is applied to a population on the east of the German area, viz, the Wallachians of the Danubian Principalities. Are both these in the same class? No.

The Keltæ, then, of Spain may have been in a different category from the Keltæ of Gaul, notwithstanding the name, and notwithstanding it being a Spanish population to which it was first applied.

The testimony of the ancients is liable to the same objection. There were *Kelt-iberians* in the Spanish Peninsula, but who can say what *Kelt-* meant? The testimony, then, of antiquity is not conclusive.

Let us look to the internal evidence. The Kelt-iberians are placed, by Posidonius, at the head-waters of the Guadiana, in which parts they "increased in numbers, and made the whole of the neighbouring country *Keltiberic*." This is the country on each side of the Sierra de Toledo, or New Castile, the very centre of Spain, and, as such, an unlikely place for an immigrant population, whether we look to its distance from the frontier, or to its mountainous aspect. They are carried, at least, as far north as the mountains of Burgos, and to the upper waters of the Douro on one side, and the Ebro on the other. So that Old Castile, with parts of Leon and Aragon, may be considered as *Keltiberic*. This is the first division.

In the south of Portugal comes the second, *i.e.*, in Alemtejo, or the parts between the Tagus and the Guadiana. Here are the *Celtici* of the classical writers.

The third section is found in the north of Portugal, and in the neighbourhood of Cape Finisterræ. Here Strabo places the *Artabri*, and close to them *Celtici* and *Turduli* of the same nation.

with those of the south, *i.e.* those of Alemitejo. His language evidently suggests the idea of a migration. Such is the Keltic area as determined by *external* evidence, and it cannot be denied that it is very remarkable. It is of considerable magnitude, but very discontinuous and unconnected.

The *internal* evidence is wholly of one sort, *viz.*, that which we collect from the names of geographical localities. One of the common terminations in the map of ancient Gaul is the word *-briga* (as in Ebro-*briga*), which takes the slightly different forms of *-brua*, and *-brica*—Baudo-*brica*, Samaro-*brua*. Now compounds of *-briga* are exceedingly common in Spain. They occur in all the parts to which *Celtici* or *Celtiberi* are referred, and in a great many more besides. Hence the internal evidence—as far, at least, as the compounds in *-briga* are concerned—gives us a larger Keltic area than the testimony of authors, indeed it gives us the whole of the peninsula except Andalusia, a fact which explains the import of a previous remark as to the absence of compounds ending in *-briga* south of the Sierra Morena. It is rare, too, in Catalonia—perhaps non-existent.

Tested, however, by the presence of the form in question, Valentia on the west, and all Portugal on the east, were Keltiberic—as may be seen by reference to any map of ancient Spain.

But there are serious objections to the usual inference from this compound. It is nearly the only geographical term in Spain, of which the form is Keltic. And this is a remarkable instance of isolation. The terminations *-durum*, *-magus*, and *-dunum*, all of which are far commoner in Gaul than even *-briga* itself, are nowhere to be found. Neither are the Gallic prefixes, such as *tre-*, *nant-*, *vor-*, etc. Hence, it is strange that, if Spain were Keltic, only one Keltic form should have come down to us. Where are the rest? I am inclined to believe that the inference as to such a Spanish name as, *e.g.*, Talo-*briga*, being Keltic, on the strength of such undoubted Gallic words as Ebro-*briga*, is no better than would be the assertion, that the Jewish name Samp-*son* was in the same category with the English names John-*son* and Thomp-*son*. Such accidental resemblances are by no means uncommon. The termination *-dun* is as common in Keltic as the termination *-tun* is in German. Yet they are wholly independent formations.

Again, the same element may belong to two different languages. The root *n-s* appears in the *Naze* of Norway, and in

Orford-ness, where it is German. But it also appears in Tshuktshinoss, and numerous other Russian names, where it is Slavonic. What if *briga* be Celtic and Iberic too?

The internal evidence, then, only partially and imperfectly confirms the external.

There are a few other facts connected herewith. In the modern name Galicia we have the root *Gall*, and a Celtic locality as well. The internal evidence improves.

It is improved, too, by the fact of the French and Portuguese languages agreeing in the great extent to which they carry the abbreviation of the Latin forms, as also the nasal character of their phonesis, a fact which may or may not be explained by supposing them to have both taken the Latin as a graft on the same native form of speech.

The peculiarities of the local dialects of the Celtic districts have yet to be investigated.

Upon the whole, then,* there is still something to be done before it is quite safe to make Portugal and portions of Spain Celtic, i. e. in the modern meaning of the word.

And, this being the case, the secondary question as to the relations of the Kelts to the Iberians loses importance—at least, in a work on Celtic ethnology. The question, however, exists. Are the Kelts the older or the newer population? If the newer, the displacement must have been enormous. If the older, whence came the Iberians? Current opinion makes the Iberians the aborigines, the doctrine of Niebuhr, the Kelts. It is not a question that opinions can decide. Indeed, as long as the Basque language remains as unknown as it is at present, the attempt to settle it is premature.

SECTION XXII

THE KELTS OF ITALY

We now come to an area upon which there was, in the opinion of all, something, at some time or other, Celtic, an area of extreme importance and interest, I mean Italy.

There were, certainly, Kelts in Italy.

As certainly, these Kelts were strangers and intrusive, rather than aboriginal.

How early, however, they intruded, and how far they ad-

vanced, are matters upon which there is anything but unanimity of opinion

The writer who has done most towards the development of a true history of the Kelt invasion of Italy, is, without doubt, the present distinguished Professor of Latin in the University College, Francis Newman. That there were Kelts in Italy, who sacked Rome, and that they had been preceded by earlier members of the same stock, was currently known from the ordinary histories. It was also known that the Latin and Keltic languages had many words in common. The precise character of the Gallic invasions was as little brought under any effective criticism, as the precise character of the Keltic roots in the Latin tongue. It is upon this latter point that such good and useful work has been done by the above-mentioned writer.

In the *Classical Museum* (vol vi) he started from the previously-recognised fact of there being Keltic words in Latin, to the investigation of their nature, and showed that, in a great number of cases, they were of comparatively recent origin, or *intrusive*, i. e. that they stood in the same relation to the Latin that the Norman-French of our *Anglic* tongue does to the English and Anglo-Saxon. They were *Portugals* (they might have been) words belonging to the original to any tongue, and (as such) Indo-European in general, rather to the *usultic* in particular. Neither were they words of Latin origin, which, having found their way into the Welsh, from the Latin of Roman conquerors of Britain, took upon themselves the appearance of being originally Latin-Keltic.

They were nothing of this kind, but actual words, which, from some Keltic form of speech, had been taken up into some form of the early Latin. Could this have been after the taking of Gaul by Brennus? or could it have been during the occupancy of Cisalpine Gaul by certain Keltic tribes? It could not well have originated out of the Gallic wars during the last two centuries of the Republic, still less out of the conquest of Gallia by Julius Cæsar.

They were actual Keltic words, because "in a large number of instances the words were members of *families* in Welsh," whereas they were "nearly isolated" in Latin.

Again, in several instances the Latin significations were secondary, or derivative, the primary one being "manifest in the Keltic. Sometimes the Latin is evidently corrupt or broken

Thus *monile*, a necklace, is from the Gaelic *fail-muineul* or *seud-muineul*, the word *muineul* meaning *neck* "

A great proportion of these Keltic words were of the same kind as the Norman-French elements in English, i.e. they were the names of weapons, the names of certain political classes, the names of certain legal objects and the like

Some of them were of great interest and importance *Quirinus* and *Quirites*, essentially Roman, as are the ideas which they suggest, are not only possible, but probable derivations from a Gaelic root " It, however, appears that (on whatever grounds) a particular branch of the Sabines was dedicated to the god of the spear, whom they called Quirinus, and themselves Quirites Ancient authors represent them as settled at Cures, before they invaded Rome Opinions were divided, whether the name Quirites came from Cures, or from the Sabine word *curis*, *quiris*, a spear but until it is shown that Cures cannot also have come from the same root, there is no proved disagreement in the two explanations We happen here to have a clue, which the Romans had not The Gaelic language has numerous words in common with the Latin, and gives us *Cuir* [sounded *Quir*], a spear *Curaidh*, a warrior, the similarity of which to *Quir* and *Quirite* sets at rest the question what *Quirite* meant "

Another point connected with this criticism was that that particular constituent of the Latin language which seemed to be most especially Keltic, was the Sabine, indeed the author allowed himself to use the term *Sabino-Keltic*, in speaking of the word *Quirinus*, the Sabine god of the *Quiris*, or spear, whose *cultus* was that of the Quirites

Lastly—and this was the most unexpected statement in the whole doctrine—the particular division of the Keltic stock which seemed to have left its impression on the Latin was not, as might be expected *a priori*, the British, but the Gaelic It was not the Britons of the comparatively eastern and southern countries of Britain and Gaul, but the Gaels of western Ireland and northern Scotland that pressed upon the occupants of the Sabine Hills and the frontagers of the Roman area on the Tiber, the doctrine running thus—

1 There was a Keltic element in the Latin, and that element was the Sabine " The ultimate prevalence of the Latin over the Sabine tongue in Rome itself, even before the monarchy was extinct, testifies how small an element the Sabines were in the

whole Roman population. It may even suggest that, like the Normans in England, the lower Sabines, who had been mere clients before the conquest, often rose into nobles or patricians in Rome, and that the rest, by intermarriage with native Roman plebeians, gave birth to a progeny which, in Sabine estimate, had no claim to the sacred auspices and other nuptial ceremonies. Much obscurity rests on the question whether the plebeian Sabines in Rome, who were clients in the strictest sense, had or had not admission to Sabine religion, from which we know that the plebeians in Rome who were not Sabine were excluded. To some sacred rites they must have been admissible, since the connexion of Client and Patron was ratified by religion. The whole difficulty however vanishes, if we believe that in two or three generations the remaining clients of the Sabine patricians had 'lost caste' (as a Hindoo would express it) by intermarriages with the older population.

"Although, before long, the distinction of Romulan and Sabine was lost in Rome, yet, at first, it is credible, they dwelt principally in their own quarters. The name of the *Quirinal* Hill seems to mark it as a special abode of the people of Quirinus, but we have no reason to imagine that any legal regulation kept the two races apart.

2 The Sabines were Gaelic rather than British. "In attempting to judge for ourselves of the Sabine language, we have as data—1 certain words reported to us by the ancients as Sabine and not Latin,—or not without some modification, 2 words which we may probably conjecture to be originally Sabine, though incorporated with the tongue, first of Rome and hence of all Latium, viz various politico-religious or military words. Both sets appear to me to indicate that the Sabines were Keltic, and Kelts nearer to the Gaelic or Erse than the Welsh branch. Although the subject cannot be here fully treated, illustrations may be given from the latter source. The letters G W stand for Gaelic and Welsh.

MILITARY AND POLITICAL OR RELIGIOUS WORDS, MANY OF WHICH
ARE LIKELY TO HAVE BEEN SABINE

Arma	G	arm	Telum	G	tailm
Gladus	G	claidheamh			(root <i>Tal</i> , cut)
	W	cleddyv.	Hasta	{	E astas, astal
Lamina	W	llavn	Hastile	{	W aseth, asethol
	G	laun			Germ ast

Galea	E gaha	Senatus	G scanadh
Scutum	G sgiath	Quirit	G cuairdh
Tragula	E ticagh, <i>a spear,</i> <i>trident or fish-</i> <i>spear</i>	Quiris	G coir
		Curia	<i>Fench</i> cour
			G cùirt, <i>court</i>
Cohors	G goit (<i>enclosed</i> <i>place</i>)	Tribus	G treubh
			W trev <i>village and</i> <i>its land</i>
Caterva	W catorva, = cad toiva, <i>battle-</i> <i>troop</i>	Lex	G lagh, and dlighe
		Fas	W fas, <i>a band or</i> <i>fastening, whence</i> <i>fasc, bundle</i>
Catapulta* =	G cath tabhal, <i>battle-sling</i>	Jus	G dior, <i>suitable,</i> <i>becoming</i>
Sagitta	G saighad		E deas and dior
Palma	W parvais	Cives	<i>comrades and</i> <i>equals</i>
Pilum	W pilwrn		W cyu, <i>to unite</i> <i>in equality</i>
Loricæ	G luireach		
Balteus	G balt	Plebs	W plwyf and llaws, <i>of loads</i>
Murus	W mur		
Mœnia	W maen, <i>a stone</i>	Ritus	W rhaith ² (<i>oath</i> <i>and law</i>) <i>heri-</i> <i>thio, (to establish</i> <i>a rule)</i>
Vallum	W gwal, . . G fal, and balle		
Præda	W priadh, <i>a herd,</i> <i>booty</i>	Ordo	W urdh
Spolia	G spùill	Seclum	W siel, <i>a wind, a</i> <i>round</i>
Torquis	W torch	Bulla	G bulla
Monile	G fal-muncil	Toga	W twyg,
Corona	G W coron	Pallium	G peall, <i>shaggy hide</i>
Catena	W cadwen	Carmen	G gurm, <i>a pro-</i> <i>clamation</i>
Cârcer	W catcher	Amtruo	W amtrio, <i>to turn</i> <i>round</i>
Turma	} W torva, tyrva	Augur, probably from auca, a	bird (in Gaulish) and cur, cure (in Welsh) G curam
Turba			
Numerus	W niver	Tripudium, from tir, earth, and	put, to push, i e, strike ² Gache
Gloria	G glour		
Glades	} W llaith	Repudium, from put, to push	Faustus W fawdus, <i>fortu-</i> <i>nate, faw, brilliant,</i> <i>fawd, good luck</i>
Lethum			
Miles	W milwr		
Centurio	W canwriad		
Castrum	W cader, <i>strong,</i> <i>caer, castle</i>		
Cuspis	G cusp, <i>a kite,</i> <i>cuspair, a marks-</i> <i>man</i>		
Rex	G righ		
Populus	W pobl		
	G pobull		
	E pobal ²		

The Greek derivation from πᾶλλω is highly doubtful

"In the Classical Museum (before referred to) I have tried to show that these names of warlike and political things *are* native to Keltic, while very few of them bear marks of being native to Latin. I have also essayed to explain some other known Sabine words by the Gaelic or Gaulish "

This, however, is not the only evidence on this point Great stress is laid on the "following table of numerals —

	<i>Latin</i>	<i>Welsh</i>	<i>Gaelic</i>	<i>Æolic Greek</i>
One	Uno	Un	Aon	Hen
Two	Duo	Dau	Do	Duo
Three	Tri	Tri	Tri	Tri
Four	Quatuor	Peduar	Keathair	Pisur, Potor
Five	Quinque	Pump	Kung	Pempe
Six	Sex	Chwech	Se	Hex
Seven	Septem	Saith	Secht	Hepta
Eight	Octo	Wyth	Ocht	Octo
Nine	Novem	Naw	Nor	Eunna
Ten	Decem	Deg	Deich	Deka
Twenty	Viginti	Ugain	Fichid	Veikosi
Hundred	Centum	Cant	Kett	Hecatonta
Thousand	Mille	Mil	Mile	Chilio

"In these numerals, we may note that the Greek is more remote from Latin than is either Keltic tongue, as to the numbers 1, 7, 9, 20, 100, 1000, more remote than Gaelic as to 4, 5, 6 (observing that the initial *s* in *Sex* is a more marked feature than the final *x*), while barely in the numbers 2 and 8 has it appreciable superiority to Gaelic

"Equally do the Saxon and German numerals recede more from Latin than the Gaelic does Nor in fact of all the Indo-European tongues has *any* so near a likeness to the Latin as the Gaelic has "

The question that arises out of the perusal of this table, is one that the author does not seem to have asked himself, neither does any one else seem to have asked it Still it should be put

What is the evidence that the Irish numerals are not of Latin origin? None Opinion is decided against their being so, but who has ever recognised the alternative? In my own mind, I think it highly probable that the words in question may be no older than the time of St Columba

I admit, however, that the statement, as made by Mr New-

man, to the effect that a great many Latin words are Gaelic rather than Welsh, does not stand or fall by the numerals. Still the presumption is so strong against the Sabine affinities being Erse, or Gaelic, that I can scarcely admit the facts in its favour to be conclusive.

A Gaelic occupancy within the limits of Italy would not only give us the most southern limit of the Keltic area, but it would give us the most eastern also, to which the real and undoubted Gaelic of Scotland and Ireland are, in respect to their geography, in direct contrast. The Scotch Gaelic is the most northern section of its family, the Irish the most western. Between these and the supposed Gaelic of Italy there is not only the sea, but England and France, and not simply England and France, but *British* England and *British* France, no portions of which have ever been shown to have been Gaelic, however much a previous Gaelic occupancy has been suggested in the way of a not very tenable hypothesis.

Were both branches of the Kelt stock Italian? It is suggested that they were. If some forms are decidedly more Gaelic than British, others are more British than Gaelic. Hence the doctrine that whilst the Sabines were Erse, the Umbrians were Welsh, is suggested.

The opinion to which facts like those embodied in the foregoing doctrine, along with a close consideration of the ethnology of Ancient Italy, have led me, is as follows —

1 That there were Kelts in Italy as far south as Samnium, and that long before the historical, or even the legendary period, long before Brennus and Camillus, long before Sigovesus and Bellovesus, long before the age assigned to Tarquinius Priscus, or even Romulus.

2 That Sabine legends or traditions, as opposed to Roman and Etruscan, give us, as far as they give any history at all, one of two things—either the actions of actual Kelts in the country of the Sabini, Latium, and elsewhere, or else actions of the native populations and their allies, these latter being Kelt in their relations, though not in substance.

3 That, as far as the Sabines were other than Latin, and as far as the Samnites were Sabine, both were Kelt.

4. That no migrations from Gaul, such as those attributed to Brennus and Sigovesus, are necessary, the history of the Gauls in Italy, up to the date of the Samnite wars, being simply

that of the internal movements of a large and widely-spread population, long settled. The sack of Rome forms no exception. The Gauls who effected it may have been Italian populations of as long standing as the Etruscans. On the other hand, secondary migrations from Gaul may have been numerous, inasmuch as the present statements only go to the extent of making detailed invasions like those of the ordinary histories unnecessary.

5 That a great deal of Celtic legend, and some Celtic history, became transformed in the history of Rome, when the Latin language first began to preponderate over the Kelt and Etruscan *Mutatis mutandis*, this applies to the Etruscan also.

6 That the Latin element of the Roman name was of comparatively slight importance until the time of Camillus, is highly probable. That Rome was just as little Latin as the German towns of the Baltic provinces of Russia—Mittau, Revel, Riga, etc.—are Lett, or, as previous to the time of Peter the Great, they were Russian, is also probable.

The basis for this doctrine lies in the phenomena pointed out by Professor Newman, and others of a like kind, in the number of local names which seem to be either Celtic, or compounded of Celtic elements (a number too large to be accidental), and, thirdly, the facts that history itself presents to us. At the beginning of the actual, undoubted, and undeniable historical period, the greater part of northern Italy is actually Gallic, so much so as to bear the name of Cisalpine Gaul. At the beginning of the possibly historical period (by which I mean the times of Camillus and the sack of Rome), there are Gauls so far south as the Liris, Gauls in Latium, Gauls in Etruria. It is these three kinds of facts which form the basis of our reasoning—reasoning upward, ascending from effects to causes, after the fashion of the reasoning of archæologists and geologists, and not after the manner of historians.

In respect to their history, the chief text is from Livy, which is as follows —

“De transitu in Italiam Gallorum hæc accepimus. Prisco Tarquinio Romæ regnante, Celtarum, quæ pars Galliæ tertia est, penes Pituriges summa imperii fuit. in regem Celtico dabant Ambigatus is fuit, virtute fortunaque cum sua, tum publica, præpollens, quod imperio ejus Gallia adeo frugum hominumque fertilis fuit, ut abundans multitudo vix regi videretur posse. Hic magna natu ipse jam, exonerare prægravante turba regnum cupiens,

Bellovesum ac Sigovesum, sororis filios, impigros juvenes, missurum se esse, in quas dii dedissent auguris sedes, ostendit. Quantum ipsi vellent, numerum hominum exirent, ne qua gens arcere advenientes posset. Tum Sigoveso sortibus dati Hercynii saltus. Belloveso haud paullo lationem in Italiam viam dii dabant.

"Is, quod ejus ex populis abundabat, Biturges, Arvernos, Senones, Æduos, Ambarros, Carnutes, Aulercos, exivit. Profectus, ingentibus peditum equitumque copiis, in Ticastinos venit. Per Tauinos saltusque in vios Alpes transcenderunt. fusisque acie Tuscis haud procul Ticino flumine, quum, in quo conederant, agrum Insubrium appellari audissent cognomine Insubribus pago Æduorum, ibi, omen sequentes loci, condidere urbem. Mediolanum appellarunt.

"Alia subinde manus Cenomanorum, Elitovio duce, vestigia priorum secuta, eodem saltu, favente Belloveso, quum transcendisset Alpes, ubi nunc Brixia ac Verona urbes sunt (locos tenere Libui) considunt.

"Post hos Salluvii prope antiquam gentem Lævus Ligures, incolentes circa Ticinum amnem.

"Penino deinde Boni Lingonesque transgressi, quum jam inter Padum atque Alpes omnia tenebantur, Pado ratibus trajecto, non Etruscos modo, sed etiam Umbros agro pellunt. intra Apenninum tamen sese tenere.

"Tum Senones, recentissimi advenarum, ab Utente flumine usque ad Æsim fines habuere. Hanc gentem Clusium, Romamque inde, vixisse comperio."

To this add the following passage from Polybius

Ταυτά γε τὰ πεδία τὸ παλαιὸν ἐνέμοντο Τυρρῆνοί οἱς ἐπιμινύμενοι κατὰ τὴν παράθεσιν Κελ οἱ, καὶ περὶ τὸ κάλλος τῆς χώρας οφθαλμιάσαντες, ἐκ μικρᾶς προφάσεως μεγάλη στρατιᾷ παραδόξως ἐπελθόντες, ἐξέβαλον ἐκ τῆς περὶ τὸν Πάδον χώρας Τυρρῆνους καὶ κατέσχον αὐτοὶ τὰ πεδία. Τὰ μὲν οὖν πρῶτα καὶ περὶ τὰς ἀνατολὰς τοῦ Πάδου κείμενα Ἀδοί καὶ Λεβέκιοι, μετὰ δὲ τούτους Ἰσομβρες κατέφκησαν, ὃ μέγιστον ἔθνος ἦν αὐτῶν, ἐξῆς δὲ τούτοις παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν Κενομάνοι. τὰ δὲ πρὸς τὸν Ἀδρίαν ἤδη προσήκοντα γένος ἄλλα πάνυ παλαιὰν διακατέσχε, προσαγορεύονται δὲ Οὐένετοι. Τὰ δὲ πέραν τοῦ Πάδου τὰ περὶ τὸν Ἀπεννίνον πρῶτοι μὲν Ἀνανες, μετὰ δὲ τούτους Βοιοὶ κατέφκησαν. ἐξῆς δὲ τούτων ὡς πρὸς τὸν Ἀδρίαν Αἰγῶνες. τὰ δὲ τελευταῖα πρὸς θαλάττην Εἰήωνες. —Polyb ii 17

That many of the geographical terms in Central Italy are Keltic, I believe

I believe that the word *Aborigines* itself is Against

the current notion there is a strong argument in the form it takes in Greek. It is only in the later writers that it is translated *Ἀυτόχθονες*, and here it is not the name of a people, except in the way that, at the present moment, the term *Aborigines of Australia* (or *America*) is the name of a people, a way that makes it no name at all.

Anterior to the appearance of the word in any Latin writer, Lycophron makes Cassandra predict that Æneas will build thirty castles in the land of the *Borioni*. Calchas, too, speaks of Latinus, the king of the *Aborigines* (not of the *Autochthones*).

Now, if we believe that the Greek writers, Calchas and Lycophron, took their terms, *Borioni* and *Aborigines*, from a Latin dialect, we may continue to believe that the word in question is a *bona fide* Latin word. But if we do so continue to believe, we must also hold that, in the time of those writers, two facts had taken place.

1 That there was a sufficient amount of ethnography in Rome to evolve a term so abstract as *Aborigines*.

2 That the term so evolved was taken by the Greek writers from the Latin ones, not for what it was (*i.e.* the equivalent to *Ἀυτόχθονες*), but for what it was not (*i.e.* a true proper name).

Considering the difficulties attending these suppositions, I come to the conclusion that, both in the Greek language and in the Latin, the term represented by *Aborigines* and *Borioni* is in the same predicament with the term *sparrow-grass* in English, *i.e.* that it is a word indigenous to neither language, but that it is an instance of *adoption with transformation* from a third.

Passing over the particular question as to whether the Latins incorporated the term from the Greeks, or the Greeks from the Latins, as of subordinate importance, the problem to be solved is the language to which the word was indigenous, *i.e.* the language which was to the Latin and Greek, as the Latin language, with its term *asparagus*, is to the English with its term *sparrow-grass*.

The conditions under which such a language must come are as follows —

1 It must have been spoken sufficiently near the locality of the people in question to have contained a name for either the locality or its inhabitants.

2 It must have been a language from which, either directly

or indirectly, one of its words might be incorporated with either the Latin or the Greek language—probably with both

In other words, it must have been an Italian language, and at the same time a language neither Greek nor Latin

Laying the Lagurian out of the question, and precluding ourselves from assuming the existence of any wholly new language for the existence of which we have no proofs, we find only two languages that come under this category

a The language of Etruria

b The language of Cispadane Gaul

Which of these two tongues is the likelier to have supplied the term in question depends upon the view we take of its history. If the Latins took it in a direct way, and not from the Greeks, or if the Greeks took it from their colonies on the Tyrrhenian Sea, the *a priori* probabilities would be in favour of the Etruscan. On the other hand, if Latin writers (like Cato) took it from Greek writers (like Callias), and if the Greeks got it from their settlers on the Adriatic Sea, the likelihood would be in the other direction, *i.e.* the Celtic would be the language in which we should look for it

Ceteris paribus, however, the language that will supply the best meaning to the word is the language from which it should be derived

Now the Celtic supplies the data for the following hypothesis

That the *Aber-* in Aboungines, or the *Bop-* in *Βοπίγγοι*, is the *Aber-* in Scotch words like *Aber-nethy*, and in Welsh words like *Aber-ystrith*, the locality to which it applied being either the confluence of the rivers *Anno* and *Tiber*, or the mouth of the Tiber

Hence the hypothetical name was some word not very unlike the word *Aber-ygryn* or *Aber-ygwyn*, the latter half of the compound not being accounted for, and a flaw in the argument being thereby left, upon which others will probably lay more stress than is laid by the author

Such, however, is the hypothesis. Assuming its truth, we limit the inferences deducible from it. It does not prove that the Aboungines were Kelts. This they may or may not have been. It only proves that Kelts were in the neighbourhood

Umbria, by a parity of reasoning, gives us the root *-mb-* in Humber, another Celtic gloss, proving that there were Kelts on the Umbrian frontier who used the word, proving, too, that they

lay on the side of Rome, inasmuch as the word was adopted by the Romans. But it was also adopted by the Greeks of the Adriatic—so, at least, I infer from the use of the word in Herodotus. If so, there were Kelts on both frontiers. More probably, however, the Umbrians themselves were more or less Keltic—intrusive, of course.

That the Etruscan tables contain a language allied to the Latin no more proves the exclusion of a Keltic form of speech than an English inscription from Edinburgh would prove the absence of any Gaelic in Argyleshire.

The notice of the Aborigines leads to that of the *Prisci*, or (as they are oftener called) *Prisci Latini*.

There is no doubt as to the difficulties engendered by this combination.

To suppose that it meant the original area of Latium in its oldest and most restricted sense (of Latium, *minus*, the countries of the Volsci, Ausones, Æqui, and Hernici, of the Latium Antiquum of Pliny, as opposed to his Latium Adjectum) is to ignore the fact of its having all the appearance of being an old word.

On the other hand, the notion that it meant the towns founded from Alba, as opposed to Alba itself, is at variance with the idea conveyed by the terms metropolis and colony.

Niebuhr, holding that *Prisci Latini* is the same as *Prisci et Latini*, makes the former word the name of a nation, adding in a note that it would be absurd to suppose that *Prisci Latini* meant *ancient Latins*. The *Prisci* he himself identifies with the Aborigines of Varro, *Vaiio* (followed by Dionysius) having deduced the people so-called from the Sabine frontier, and conducted them to the parts about Alba as a conquering nation, the nation whom they conquered having been the Siculi.

Now there is an assumption that runs throughout all the trains of reasoning upon this term which, general as it is, is by no means legitimate. It is, to the effect that, in the combination *Prisci Latini*, it is the former word which qualifies the latter, and not the latter that qualifies the former. Hence, the meaning given is, the *Latins who were Priscans*, or the *Priscan Latins*, rather than the *Prisci who were Latin*, or the *Latin Priscans*.

Yet no one translates *Suessa Pomertia* as the *Pomertia* that was *Suessa*, but, on the contrary, every one renders it, *Suessa that was Pomertia*, for there are two towns so-called, the *Suessa Pomertia*,

the Pomertian Suessa, and the Suessa Aurunca or the Autuncan Suessa

In these pair of words it is undoubtedly the qualifying word that comes last. There are more Suessæ than one. Why not more Prisci also?

In like manner Tarquinius Priscus = Tarquin who was Priscan (whatever be the meaning of the term), rather than Priscus who was Tarquinian

This exception makes it possible that the Prisci Latini, notwithstanding their name, were other than Latin—or Latin only in respect to their geography and denomination. Were they Kelt or Etrurian? This is another question. The application of the name to Tarquin is in favour of their being Etrurian

SECTION XXIII

THE BOII

The Keltic *areas*—actual, probable, and possible—have been noticed

Certain details—actual, probable, or possible—of the Keltic name still stand over for investigation. It is only the more important of these that claim attention

Two questions connect themselves with the name *Boii*

1 Was the population Keltic, and, if so, was the name Keltic also? It would be hyper-criticism to deny that *some* Boii were Kelts. There are reasons, however, which forbid us to make them all so

In the time of Attila and his Huns, the name *Boiseri* (see Zeuss, *in loc. Hunni*) appears in Scythia, a country where Slavonian names abounded,—a country, indeed, which many of the Eastern Galatæ occupied

In the Russian maps of the Government of Caucasus and Circassia, we find the word *Boiseri*, where, in English, we should find the word *Kossacks*, denoting the occupants of a military settlement

In a passage of Constantine Porphyrogenita (Zeuss, v *Serbi, Chorivati*), there is the statement that the parts about Bavaria (*Baryßapela*) were called by the Slavonic occupants *Bolci*, and that these parts were on the frontier of the Frank Empire. As such they might be a *March*

So might any, and all, of the Boian occupancies of Gaul, Germany, and Italy

Let us say, then, that, *provided we can show reason for believing that there were Slavonians, to give the name*, on the frontiers of the Boii of Cassa and other writers, we have made out a *prima facie* case in favour of the word itself being Slavonic. If so, it may have been applied to Keltic, and to populations other than Keltic, a fact which should regulate our criticism, when we find not only Boii in more places than one, but *Deserta Boiorum*—*Deserta* possibly meaning *Marches*, or *Debatable Lands*

2 What are the modern countries to which the Boii gave these names? Or is there only one? The usual doctrine makes only one, at any rate, it takes but little cognizance of the second. The criticism rests chiefly on the following passage from Tacitus —

“Nunc singularum gentium instituta, ritusque, quatenus differant, quæ nationes e Germaniâ in Gallias commigraverint, expediam. Validiores olim Gallorum res fuisse summus auctorum divus Julius tradit: eoque credibile est, etiam Gallos in Germaniam transgressos. Quantum enim animis obstabat, quominus, ut quæque gens evaluerat, occuparet permutaretque sedes promiscuas adhuc, et pullâ regnorum potentiâ divisas? Igitur inter Hercyniam silvam, Rhenumque et Mœnum amnes, Helvetii, ulteriora Boii, Gallicæ utraq; gens, tenuere. Manet adhuc *Boiarii* nomen; significatque loci veterem memoriam, quamvis mutatis cultoribus.”—*Germania*, § 28

Word for word *Boiarii* is *Bohemia*. Nor is Tacitus the first writer who uses it. Velleius Paterculus had done the same.

Boi-o-hem-um is truly and unequivocally German—a German gloss. The *-hem* = *occupation, residence*, being the same word as the *-hem* in *Mann-hem* in High German, the *-hem* in *Arn-hem* in Dutch, the *-um* in *Dokk-um* in Frisian, the *-ham* in *Threkling-ham* in English. Hence *Boi-o-hem-um* = *the home of the Boii*.

Some of the other compounds of the root *Boi-* are interesting.

Be-hem-are, a triple compound, combines the elements of both *Ba-varia* and *Bo-hem-ia*, and stands for *Be-hem-ware* = *the occupants of the home of the Boii*.

Boe-manni = *the Boian men*

Boo-umidi = *the Boian Woods*, or Slavonians

Ptolemy's form is *Βαυοχαῖμαί*, a form taken from some dialect where the *h* was pronounced as a stronger guttural than elsewhere

Word for word, and element for element, *Boiohemum* = *Bo-hemia*, but whether the *localities* coincide as closely as the forms of the *name*, is another question. It has been too readily assumed that they do

It cannot be denied that identity of name is *prima facie* evidence of identity of place. But it is not more. Hence, although it would be likely enough, if the question were wholly uncomplicated, that the *Boiohemum* of Paterculus and Tacitus were the *Bohemia* of the present century, doubts arise as soon as the name and the description disagree, and they increase when the identification of either the Boii, or their German invaders, with the inhabitants of Bohemia leads to ethnological and geographical difficulties

All this is really the case

The disagreement between the name *Boio-hem* and the position of the present country of *Bohemia*, meets us in the very passage before us. The former lies between the Main, the Rhine, and the Hercynian Forest. No part of Bohemia is thus bounded

Hence, I believe the *Boi-o-hem-um* of Tacitus to have been, not Bohemia, but *Bavaria*, *Bavaria* and *Bohemia* being nearly the same words

a The first element in each is the proper name *Boii*. In the sixth and seventh centuries the fuller form of *Bavaria* is *Bojo-aria*, *Rai-aria*, *Bajo-aria*, *Bau-aria*, etc.

b The second element is equivalent in power, though not in form, to the second element in *Bo-hemia*. It is the word *ware* = *inhabitants* or *occupants* in the Anglo-Saxon form, *Cantware* = *people of Kent*

Hence *Bohemia* = the *Boian occupancy*, *Bavaria* = the *occupant Boians*

This leads us to the fact that however much we may place the *Boii* in *Bo-hemia*, we cannot do so *exclusively*. As far as the name goes, there were *Boii* in *Bavaria* as well, *Boii*, too, who gave their name to their land

I collect, from the numerous and valuable quotations of Zeuss, that—

1 The evidence of the present country of *Bavaria* being

called by a compound of *Boio + ware*, begins as early as the sixth century

2 That the evidence of the present country of *Bohemia* being called by a compound of *Boio + heim* is no earlier than the eleventh

I also collect from the same data, that, though the Bavarians of Bavaria are called *Bon* as late as the eleventh century, there is no conclusive instance of the *Bohemians* being so called

In my edition of the *Germania*, I have made *Boiohemum* Bavaria to the exclusion of Bohemia I would now modify this view Some of Bohemia and some of Bavaria constituted the *Boiohemum* of antiquity More than this, I think that the greater portion of it was Bavarian

SECTION XXIV

THE TEUTONES AND CIMBRI

In the difficult and unsatisfactory investigation of the ethnology of these populations we find four names—(1), *Ambrones*, (2), *Tigurini*, (3), *Teutones*, (4), *Cimbri* To each of these I shall give a separate Subsection, beginning with—

SUB-SECTION I

THE AMBRONES

The current accounts, as is well known, give two decisive battles to the skill of Marius—one won b c 102, at *Aquæ Sextiæ* in Provence, the other b c 101 near *Vercellæ* In the former, the *Teutones*, *Tigurini*, and *Ambrones* are more particularly engaged, in the latter, the *Cimbri*

Now it is only in the first of these battles that the *Ambrones* appear

The notices of them, heretofore, are important, relating, as they mainly do, to the word as a gloss Thus—

Plutarch writes that before the battle they advanced beating their arms, and crying "*Ambrones! Ambrones!*" At this the Ligurian portion of the Roman army echoed the word, it being their own ancient name—σφᾶς γὰρ αὐτοὺς οὕτως ονομάζουσι κατὰ γένος *Λιγυες* —(*Vit' Marii*, 14)

Supposing the Ambrones to be a population of some portion of the Lagurian frontier, external to the districts reduced by, or in alliance with, Rome, this is highly probable. They are opposed to their own countrymen, much as the Ionians of Asia were, during the Persian war, opposed to the Greeks, or as, in later times, the Gauls of Roman Gallia might be opposed to the still unconquered tribes of the north. Under such conditions, what more natural than that they should parade their nationality in the way mentioned in the text, and that it should be the Lagurian portion of the opposing army that should, at least, understand them. Whether it was equally natural that it should be taken up in the manner described is another question.

Next—as a geographical term for some portion of the populations on the drainage of the Rhone, few names are more intrinsically probable than the one before us. As a geographical term, it may easily be the *-mbr-* in *Humber* and *Umbria*. Let the term have lost something of its original extent, and the fact of the text is the natural result. There was once a time when both the reduced Lagurians and their free conquerors were Ambrones. There was, then, a time when the southern tribes changed their denomination, or allowed it to become obsolete, the northern tribes retaining it. This is, as near as may be, the history of the word in England. At one time everything between the Humber and Tweed was North-humbrian. At present, it is only the northern portion of the original North-Humbria that retains its name. Imagine a battle in (say) the tenth century between the Scotch and the English, the Yorkshiresmen being on the side of the latter, whilst Durham and Northumberland fought for Scotland, and something akin to what occurred in Provence might occur in one of our northern counties. The Scotch Northhumbrians might scream out “Northumberland, Northumberland!” (with or without epithets or additions) to the now transmuted Yorkshiresmen, who, whether they echoed it back or not, would still understand it, and, perhaps, recognise it as originally their own designation.

A further notice of the meaning of the word is found in Festus—“Ambrones fuerunt gens quædam Gallica quæ, qui subita inundatione maris cum amersissent sedes suas, rapinis et prædationibus se suosque alere cœperunt, ex quo tractum est ut turpis vitæ homines *Ambrones* dicerentur.”

This extract is almost too confirmative of the text of Plutarch, as just interpreted. It confirms the view that *-mbr-* was a

geographical term. It confirms the view that it was the *-mbr-* in *Humber* (the river) and *Umbria* (the country of waters). It confirms the view that the drainage of the Rhone was the district of the Ambrones, and, as it certainly was, of some of the Ligurians.

Respecting, then, the Ambrones, who were conquered at *Aquæ Sextiæ* by Marius, I hold that they were Gauls of the frontier between Liguria and Helvetia, though not the only Gauls so named. Wherever there were those relations of land and water which the combination *-mbr-* expressed, there might be *Ambrones*.

Further notices of the word may be found in Section *YMBRE*, in my ethnological edition of the *Germania* of Tacitus.

SUB-SECTION II

III TIGURINI

In like manner, the Tigurini were Helvetians of the pagus *Tigurinus*.

SUB-SECTION III

III TEUTONES

The illegitimacy of all arguments in favour of the Teutones having been Germans, so often deduced from the name, has been already indicated. In the present section, it will be dealt with more fully.

Germany is not the name by which a German denotes his own country. He calls it *Deutschland*.

The German term *Deutsch* is an *adjective*, the earlier form of the word being *diutisc*. Here the *-isc* is the same as the *-ish* in words like *self-ish*. *Diut*, on the other hand, means *people*, or *nation*. Hence, *diut-isc* is to *diut*, as *popularis* is to *populus*. This adjective was first applied to the *language*, and served to distinguish the *popular*, *national*, *native*, or *vulgar* tongue of the populations to which it belonged from the Latin. It first appears in documents of the ninth century — “*Ut quilibet episcopus hominibus apertè transferre studeat in rusticam Romanam linguam*”

aut *theotiscam*, quo tandem cuncti possint intelligere quæ dicantur"—Synodus Turonensis, A.D. 813 "Quod in lingua *Thrudisca* scattlegi, id est armorum depositio, vocatur"—*Capit Wormatiense* "De collectis quas *Thrudisca* lingua hunsuph appellat"—*Conventus Siliacensis* "Si, *barbara*, quam *Teutiscam* dicunt, lingua loqueretur"—Vita Adalhardi, etc"—D G, i p 14, *Introduction*

As to the different forms in which either the root or the adjective appears, the most important of them are as follows—

1 In *Mæso-Gothic*, *þrudiskō*—*ἑθνικῶς*—Galatians ii 14, a form which implies the substantive *þruda*—*ἔθνος*.

2 In Old High-German, *diot*—*populus*, gives the adjective *deutisc*—*popul-aris*

3 In Anglo-Saxon we have *þeod* and *þeodisc*

Sometimes this adjective means *heathen*, in which case it applies to religion, and is opposed to *Christian*

Often it means *intelligible*, or *vernacular*, and applies to language, in which case it is opposed to *Latin*

The particular Gothic dialect to which it was first applied was the *German of the Middle Rhine*. Here the forms are various—*theodisca*, *thrudisca*, *theutisca*, *teutisca*, *teutisca*. When we reach parts less in contact with the Latin language of Rome, its use is rarer. Even the Germans of the Rhine frequently use the equivalent term *Almannic*, and *Francic*, whilst the Saxons and Scandinavians never seem to have recognised the word at all

Hence it is only the Germans of *Germany* that are *Theotisci*, or *Deut-sche*

We of England, on the other hand, apply it only to the *Dutch* of Holland

Up to a certain time in its earlier history, the term *Dutch* (*Teutisca*, *Theodisca*, etc.) is, to a certain degree, one of disparagement, meaning *non-Roman*, or *vulgar*. It soon, however, changes its character, and in an Old High-German gloss—*uncaduti* (*ungudenti*) = *un-dutch* is translated *barbarus*. The standard has changed. Barbarism now means a departure from what is Dutch. Nevertheless, originally *Deutsche*—*vulgar*

Like *high* as opposed to *low*, *rich* to *poor*, etc., the word *Deut-sch* was originally a *correlative* term—i.e. it denoted something which was *popular*, *vulgar*, *national*, *unlearned*—to something which was not

What is the inference from all this? That the word *Teuton* = *Dutch* could have had no existence until the relations between the learned and lettered language of Rome, and the comparatively unlearned and unlettered *vulgar tongue* of the Franks and Alemanni had developed some notable points of contrast. *Deutsche*, as a name for Germans, in the sense in which it occurs in the ninth century, was an impossibility in the *first*, or *second*

To continue the history of the word. About the tenth century the Latin writers upon German affairs began to use the words *Teutonicus* and *Teutonici*. Upon this Grimm remarks that the latter term sounded more learned, since *Teutonicus* was a classical word, an adjective derived from the Gentile name of the Teutones conquered by Marius. I imagine that, as a general rule, this is what is meant from the beginning. Did the classical writers use it as equivalent to German? Some did—Velleius Paterculus most especially. Nevertheless, the usual meaning of the word *Teutones* in the classical writers is to denote a population identical with, or similar to, the *Teutones* conquered by Marius. In like manner the adjective *Teutonicus* meant *after the fashion of the Teutones*. I imagine that if a poet of the times in question were asked what he meant by the epithet, such would be his answer: 'That he would say that *Teutonicus* was only another word for *Germanicus* and that the *Teutones* were *Germans*, I do not imagine, admitting, however, that a geographer or historian might do so. The classical meaning of *Teutones* and *Teutonici* is—like the men whom Marius conquered, whoever they were. Of course this term connoted something else. It was applied to the colour and texture of the hair, so that we read of *Teutonici capilli*. It was applied to the manner of throwing javelins, so that we hear of men who were—

Teutonico ritu soliti torquere cateas

Æneid, lib vii l 741

It was applied to several other characteristics besides

This should be enough to lay the fallacy involved in the identification of the *Teut-ones* and *Deut-sche*. I doubt, however, whether it will do so, so wonderful is the vitality of an old error.

Let us say, however, that *Teut-on* and *Dutch*, the latter word retaining the power by which it originally came to denote the German language (viz, the power of *popular, vernacular, vulgar*,

etc.), are impossible connections, and prepare for another view of the relation

Though the *Teut-* in *Teut* ones be not the *Teut-* in *Teut* *iscus* in its secondary sense of *vulgar*, or *popular*, as opposed to *learned* and *cultivated*, it may still be the same word with its primary meaning of *people*. It is by no means unlikely for an invading nation to call themselves *the nation*, *the nations*, *the people*, &c. Neither, if a German tribe had done so, would the word employed be very unlike *Teutones*.

Again—we have the *Saltus Teut-o-bergius* mentioned by Tacitus (*Annal* lib 1 p 60). Whatever may be the power of the *Teut-* in *Teutones*, it is highly probable that here it means *people*, in other words, that it is the *Teut-* in *Dut-eh*, and that in its primary sense *populus*, rather than *vulgus*. It means either *the hill of the people*, or *the city of the people*, according as the syllable *-berg-* is derived from *bérigs* — a *hill*, or from *bairigs* — a *city*. In either case the compound is allowable, e.g. *diot-uice*, *public way*, Old High-German, *thiod-wattho*, *robber of the people*, Old Saxon, *peód-cynning*, *peód-mare*, *boundary of the nation*, Anglo-Saxon, *piód-land*, *piód-viçç*, *people's way*, Icelandic.

Teut- then is, after all, a German gloss. Be it so. But what is the evidence of its being so, and meaning *people*, in the name of the Marian Teutones? None.

That *people*, however, was actually its meaning is only a probability at best.

But supposing that it were so, it would by no means follow that because it was a German word it was *exclusively* German. The root *p-~~th~~* (*v-~~lg~~*) is equally Slavonic and Latin—*pulk* *vulgus* as well as the German *folk*.

What, then, does the gloss prove? This much. That, if we were sure it meant *people*, we should, *certainly*, have a German word, and, *probably*, a word *exclusively* German. But we are sure of nothing of the kind. As the matter stands, *Teut-* proves that the *Teut*-ones were *Deut-sche* just as the word *Pruss-ian* proves that the *Pers-ians* were *Sarmatians*, just as the word *Lithuan-ian* proves that the *Latins* were from the Baltic, just as a great many other words prove a deal of something else, *i.e.*, not at all.

Let the name, then, go for nothing in our enquiry, and, with this preliminary, let the few trust-worthy notices of the population conquered by Marius, and associated with the Cimbri, Tigurini, and Ambrones, be considered.

The Teutones belonged, as decidedly as the Ambrones, to the western field of operations—the battle against them is fought in Provence, not in Lombardy. Appian is (I believe) the only author who gives them any share in the eastern movements.

The name associated with the Ambrones in Strabo is *Ταυρύγεοι*. This, however, has so generally been admitted to be neither more nor less than *Τευτόνοι*, that we may be allowed to identify the two. If not, the Teutones must be considered as unnoticed by Strabo, Strabo's notice of them being that of Posidonius. It is to the effect that the Cimbri, after several previous invasions of other countries, at length invaded Helvetia, and associated with themselves the Tigurini, and Tōygeni (*Ταυρύγεοι*) which (by hypothesis) means Teutones.

I see no reason to refine on this statement, which makes them a Helvetic population. Helvetia is the country where they were most in contact with their allies, the Ambrones, the country whence a descent upon Provence would be eminently likely, the country whereof the geographical details (especially in the direction of Liguria) are so imperfectly described, as to make it an eminently probable area for such a population as the one under notice—a population of which we find no definite trace afterwards. (See *TEUTONES AND TIGURINI* in my edition of the *Germania of Tacitus—Fpilogomena*, section 14.)

I see, then, in the Teutones simply, certain otherwise obscurely-known neighbours of the Ambrones and Tigurini.

SUB-SECTION IV

THE CIMBRI

Of the Cimbri, I have investigated the extremely complex ethnology elsewhere, have repeated the investigation, and now return to it. Now, however, as before, I come to nothing but a negative conclusion. I think they were more likely to have been Kelts than Germans, and quite as likely to have been Slavonians as Kelts.

The doctrine which, in a contribution to the Transactions of the Philological Society, I propounded more than twelve years ago, is to the effect that the Romans of the times between the battle of Verceil and the conquest of Gaul, knew little about them in respect to their origin and relations, that when Gaul was conquered, and neither Teutones nor Cimbri had appeared,

either *us nominibus*, or in any definite locality, speculation arose, that when Germany had been explored, and no Teutones or Cimbri been found, their area was transferred to the Cimbric Chersonese

Speaking more generally, I maintained that when a given district, with which they had been previously connected, had been traversed and found wanting, the unknown parts immediately beyond it became the accredited starting-point. But these receded and receded till, at length, having begun with Gaul we end in Scandinavia

Now this view arises out of the examination of the language of the historians and geographers as examined in order, from Sallust to Ptolemy and Plutarch

Of Sallust and Cicero, the language points to Gaul as the home of the nation in question, and that without the least intimation of its being any particularly distant portion of that country. “*Per idem tempus adversus Gallos ab duclibus nostris, Q. Cæpione et M. Manlio, male pugnatum—Marius consul absens factus, et ei decreta provincia Gallici*”—Bell Jugurth 114. “*Ipse ille Marius—influentes in Italiam Gallorum maximas copias repressit*”—Cicero de Prov. Consul 13

Cæsar, whose evidence ought to be conclusive (inasmuch as he knew of Germany as well as of Gaul), fixes them to the south of the Marne and Seine. This we learn, not from the direct text, but from inference. “*Gallos—a Belgis Nationa et Sequana dividit*”—Bell Gall i 1. “*Belgæ—solos esse qui, patrum nostrorum memoria, omni Gallia vexata, Teutones Cimbrosque intra fines suos ingredi prohibuerint*”—Bell Gall ii 1. Now if the Teutones and Cimbri had moved from north to south, they would have clashed with the Belgæ first, and with the other Gauls afterwards. The converse, however, was the fact

Diodorus Siculus, without defining their locality, deals throughout with the Cimbri as a Gaulish tribe. Besides this, he gives us one of the elements of the assumed indistinctness of ideas in regard to their origin, viz., their hypothetical connection with the Cimmerii. In this recognition of what might have been called the *Cimmerian theory*, he is followed by Strabo and Plutarch—Diod. Sicul v, 32. Strabo, vii. Plutarch, *Vit Mari*

The next writer who mentions them is Strabo. In con-

firmation of the view taken above, this author places the Cimbri on the northernmost limit of the area geographically known to him, viz, *beyond* Gaul, and *in* Germany, between the Rhine and the Elbe *Τῶν δὲ Γερμάνων, ὡς εἶπον, οὐ μὲν προσάρκτιοι παρηκοῦσι τῷ Ὠκεανῷ Γνωρίζονται δ' ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκβολῶν τοῦ Ῥήνου λάβοντες τὴν ἀρχὴν μέχρι τοῦ Ἀλβιος. Τούτων δὲ εἰς γνωριμώτατοι Σούγαμβροί τε καὶ Κίμβροι. Τὰ δὲ πέραν τοῦ Ἀλβιος τὰ πρὸς τῷ Ὠκεανῷ παντάπασιν ἄγνωστα ἡμῖν ἐστίν*—Tab iv Further proof that this was the frontier of the Roman world we get from the statement which soon follows, viz, that “thus much was known to the Romans from their successful wars, and that more would have been known had it not been for the injunction of Augustus forbidding his generals to cross the Elbe” —Tab iv

Velleius Paterculus agrees with his contemporary Strabo. He places them beyond the Rhine, and deals with them as Germans —“*Tum Cimbri et Teutoni transcendere Rhenum, multis mox nostris suisque cladibus nobiles*”—ii 8 “*Effusa —immanis vis Germanarum gentium quibus nomen Cimbris ac Teutonibus erat*”—ii 12.

Marmor Ancyranum —“*CIMBRIQUE ET CHARIDIS ET SEMNONIS ET FISCIDEM TRACTUS ATQUE GERMANORUM POPULI PER LEGATOS AMICITIAM MIAM ET POPULO ROMANI PIIERUNT*”

Tacitus—Eundem Germaniarum sitem proximi Oceano Cimbri tenent, parva nunc civitas, sed gloriâ ingens veterisque famæ latè vestigia manent, utiâque ripâ castra, ac spatia, quorum ambitu nunc quoque metuaris molem manusque gentis, et tam magni exercitus fidem Sexcentessimum et quadragesimum annum Urbs nostra agebat, cum primum Cimbrorum audita sunt arma, Cæcilio Metello ac Papirio Carbone consulibus Ex quo si ad alterum Imperatoris Trajani consulatum computemus, ducenti ferme et decem anni colliguntur tamdiu Germania vincitur. Medio tam longi ævi spatio, multa invicem damna Non Samnis, non Pœni, non Hispaniæ, Galliæve, ne Parthi quidem sæpius admonuere quippe regno Arsacis acrior est Germanorum libertas Quid enim aliud nobis, quàm eadem Crassi, amisso et ipse Pacoro, infra Ventidium dejectus Oriens objecerit? At Germani Carbone, et Cassio, et Scauro Aurcho, et Servilio Cæpione, Cui quoque Manlio fuis vel captis, quippe simul consulares exercitus populo Romano, Varum, tresque cum eo legiones, etiam Cæsari abstule-

runt nec impunè C. Marius in Italiâ, divus Julius in Galliâ, Drusus ac Nero et Germanicus in suis eos sedibus pereulerunt. Mox ingentes C. Cæsaris minæ in ludibrium versæ. Inde otium, donec occasione discordiæ nostræ et civilium armorum, expugnatis legionum hibernis, etiam Gallias affligerent ac rursus pulsæ inde, proximis temporibus triumphati magis quàm victi sunt.

In respect to the *vetus famæ vestigia*, the disbeliever in the existence of either Cimbri or Teutones in Germany sees only an *inference*. Certain monuments required explanation. The Roman antiquaries referred them to the populations in question.

There is not a shadow of evidence that makes this belief native.

I think that the Marmor Ancyranum suggested portions of the preceding extract. The populations of the Marmor are the Cimbri, the Charudes, and the Semnones. Now, the order in Tacitus is nearly this. The Cherusci (probably the Charudes in the eye of Tacitus, who nowhere gives that name) are noticed just before, the Semnones just after, the Cimbri.

Ptolemy—Now the author who most mentions in detail the tribes beyond the Elbe, is also the author who most pushes back the Cimbri towards the north. Coincident with his improved information as to the parts southward, he places them at the extremity of the area known to him. *Καὶχοὶ οἱ μείζονες, μέχρι τοῦ Ἀλβίου ποταμοῦ ἐφεξῆς δὲ ἐπὶ αὐχένα τῆς Κιμβρικῆς Χερσονήσου Σίξονες, αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν Χερσόνησον ὑπὲρ μὲν τοὺς Σίξοντας, Σιγούλωνες ὑπὸ δυσμῶν εἶτα Σαβαλλύγιοι, εἶτα Κοβανδοὶ ὑπὲρ οὓς Χάλιοι καὶ ἔτι ὑπὲρ τούτους δυσμικώτεροι μὲν Φουνδούσιοι, ἰνατολικώτεροι δὲ Χαροῦδες, πάλιν δὲ ἀρκτικώτεροι Κίμβριοι.*

Pliny not only fixes the Cimbri in three places at once, but also (as far as we can find any meaning in his language) removes them so far northward as Norway. "Alterum genus Ingvæones, quorum pars Cimbri Teutoni, ac Chincorum gentes. Proximi Rheno Istævones quorum pars Cimbri mediterranei"—iv. 28. "Promontorium Cimbrioum exiens in maria longe peninsulam efficit, quæ Cartris appellatur"—Ibid. 27. "Sevo Mons" (the mountain-chains of Norway) "immanem ad Cimbriorum uelque promontorium efficit sinum, qui Codanus vocatur, et cæcis insulis, quarum clarissima Scandinavia est, incomptæ magnitudinis"—Ibid.

I conclude with Plutarch's notice. "They had no sooner

received the news that Jugurtha was taken, than reports were spread of an invasion from the Teutones and the Cimbri. And, though the account of the number and strength of their armies seemed at first incredible, it subsequently appeared short of the truth. For three hundred thousand well-armed warriors were upon the march, and the women and children, whom they brought along with them, were said to be still more numerous. This vast multitude were in search of lands on which they might subsist, and cities wherein to live and settle, as they had heard that the Celtae before them had expelled the Tuscans, and possessed themselves of the best part of Italy. As for these, who now hovered like a cloud over Gaul and Italy, it was not known who they were, or whence they came, on account of their small commerce with the rest of the world, and the length of way which they had marched. It was conjectured, indeed, from the largeness of their stature, and the blueness of their eyes, as well as because the Germans called banditti Cimbri, that they were some of those German nations who dwell by the north sea.

"Some say the country of the Celtae is of such immense extent, that it stretched from the Western Ocean and the most northern climes, to the lake Maëotis eastward, and to that part of Scythia which borders upon Pontus, that thence the two nations mingle, and thence issue, not all at once, nor at all seasons, but in the spring of the year, that, by means of these annual supplies, they had gradually opened themselves a way over the chief part of the European continent, and that, though they are distinguished by different names, according to their tribes, yet their whole body is comprehended under the general appellation of Celto-Scythæ.

"Others assert that they were a small part of the Cimmericians, well known to the ancient Greeks, and that quitting their native soil, or having been expelled by the Scythians, on account of some sedition, they passed from the Palus Maëotis into Asia, under the conduct of Lygdamis their chief, but that the greater and more warlike part dwelt in the extremities of the earth, near the North Sea. These inhabit a country so dark and woody, that the sun is seldom seen, on account of the many high and spreading trees, which reach inward as far as the Hercynian forest. They are under that part of the heavens where the elevation of the pole is such that, by the declination of the

parallels, it makes almost a vertical point to the inhabitants, and their day and night are of such a length, that they serve to divide the year into two equal parts, which gave occasion to Homer's fiction concerning the infernal regions

"Hence, therefore, these barbarians, who came into Italy, first issued, being anciently called Cimbern, and subsequently Cimbri, but not at all from any reference to their manners. Yet these things rest rather upon conjecture than upon historical certainty. Most historians, however, agree that their numbers, instead of being less, were rather greater than we have related

"As to their courage, their spirit, and the force and vivacity with which they made an impression, we may compare them to a devouring flame. Nothing could resist their impetuosity, all that came in the way were trodden down, or driven before them like cattle. Many respectable armies and generals, employed by the Romans to guard the Transalpine Gaul, were shamefully routed, and the feeble resistance which they made to the first efforts of the barbarians was the chief thing which drew them toward Rome. For having beaten all they met, and loaded themselves with plunder, they determined to settle nowhere till they had destroyed Rome and laid waste the whole of Italy."

Such is the literary history of the name, a name implying an amount of ignorance on the part of our authorities which many will be unwilling to admit, and which some may say that no discreet critic should presume to impute.

Let us see how far this is the case. The ordinary doctrine is that the Cimbro-Teutonic wars were spread over a period of nearly twelve years. B.C. 113, Papius Carbo is defeated near Norcia in Noricum, and B.C. 101, the final slaughter of the Cimbri is effected by Marius and Catulus at Vercellæ. Between these two points the field of operations changes from Noricum to Helvetia, Gaul, Spain, and Cisalpine Italy.

The authorities of the different details of this series of battles and migrations are by no means of uniform value. The great and final battle of Vercellæ is, probably, known accurately and in detail—so far as it is known at all. Catulus, the colleague of Marius, wrote the memoirs of his own consulate, and Sylla, who was also in the battle, wrote *his* commentaries (*Ἱστορίαι*). Let these stand as the authorities for the last great action of the Cimbri—the Cimbri as opposed to the

Teutones and Ambrones, who were annihilated elsewhere, and in the previous year

There were, certainly, no memoirs of Catulus for the action at *Aquæ Sextiæ*, probably none of Sylla, who, we must remember, was a young man

This throws us upon the gencial historians of the period—Q C Quadrigarius and Valerius Antias—writers who had, certainly, opportunities of knowing the details of all that was done by the Roman armies, either in or out of the presence of the enemy, as well as much of what was done by the enemy in presence of the Roman armies. In allowing them all due and reasonable accuracy on these points, it is not too much to hold that a great deal of what was effected between the several engagements, such as invasions of neutral countries, alliances, and the like, must have been most imperfectly understood

That the original accounts, however, are lost, is well known. We have nothing, at first-hand, of either of the authors just named. Neither have we the books of Livy which treated of the years B.C. 113—101. We have the Epitome, and we have the copyists and compilers, but we have not Livy himself.

The nearest authorities are Strabo, representing Posidonius, and Plutarch. Of these, the former gives us nothing definite, the latter confesses his ignorance as to their origin.

Surely this justifies a considerable amount of doubt, the more so as the question is one of great importance.

Who the Cimbri, and who the Teutones were, are points which complicate numberless ethnological investigations. They complicate those of the Cambrian Welshmen, the Cumbrians of Cumberland, the Belgæ, the populations of Jutland or the Cimbric Chersonese, the Cimmeri, the Crim Tartars, the scriptural descendants of Gomer, etc. They complicate also the history of the Teutonarn, the Saltus Teutoburgius, and the Dutch in general, by which is meant anything German, anything Gothic.

The names alone do this—Teutones on one side, Cimbri on the other.

The false inferences connected with the first have been noticed. The criticism concerning the second is as follows —

1 It is, probably, a Gallic word, though it may be German. Plutarch writes that it is German, Festus that it is Gallic, foi

robber. Granted, then, that it is Gallic (or German). What follows? Simply that certain Gauls or Germans called a certain population by a certain name,—a fact that fully proves that the Cimbri came in contact with Gauls and Germans, but nothing more. Evidence that the name is native, there is none.

2 In the matter of its medial consonants, *Ci-mbr-i* is the same word as *A-mbr-ones*. This, however, may be accidental. Be it so. There are, nevertheless, signs of either identity or confusion between the two. Have we not seen that *Ambrones*, if not exactly meaning *robbers*, meant something very like it? Have we not also seen that the Ambrones came from a district that had been flooded? So did the Cimbri. Strabo tell us this. He places them, however, in the parts between the mouth of the Rhine and the mouth of the Elbe.

3 With either of these meanings, "Cimbri" and "Ambrones" might be as common in either Gaul or Germany as "robbers" or "inundations."

Their alliance with the (probably) Celtic Teutones and Ambrones is *prima facie* evidence of their being Gauls, but nothing more. A Kelto-Slavonic confederation is possible, and not improbable.

The utter ignorance of all the writers of antiquity respecting their origin, after all Gallia, and much of Germany had been explored, points to some of the more unknown areas, and these are generally Slavonic.

The German hypothesis, eminently untenable, rests on the wrong interpretation of the word Teutones, and the fact of the Cimbri being placed by Ptolemy, on the principle suggested above, in Jutland.

Say, then, that whilst the ignorance of antiquity is best accounted for by making them Slavonic, their alliance with the Ambrones, Tiguri, and Teutones favors the notion of their being Celtic,—favors it, but nothing more. As Slavonians, either *from* or *through* Noricum, they may have joined the alliance.

But is the evidence of the alliance itself unexceptionable? That the attacks were *concurrent* is certain. But is it so certain that they were *conjoint*?

The details as to the two populations having proceeded from some distant point together, and then having drawn lots concerning the countries that they are respectively to attack, are improbable.

Then come the *sequelæ* of the battle of Aquæ Sextiæ. In the first place, Marius is recalled to Rome, where he might have had a triumph if he chose. He defers it, however. He then moves to join Catulus, but waits for the army, which he sends for from Gaul, before he crosses the Po. He is now in front of the Cimbri. But they (the recital is from Plutarch) defer the "combat, pretending that they expected the Teutones, and wondered at their delay, either being really ignorant of their fate, or choosing to appear so, for they punished those who brought them an account of it with stripes, and sent to ask Marius for lands and cities, sufficient both for themselves and for their brethren. When Marius inquired of the ambassadors, 'Who their brethren were?' they told him, 'The Teutones.' The assembly burst into laughter, and Marius tauntingly replied, 'Don't trouble yourselves about your brethren, for they had land enough of our giving, and they shall have it for ever.' The ambassadors, perceiving the merriment, seriously assured him, in reply, 'That the Cimbri would chastise him immediately, and the Teutones when they came up.' 'And they are not far off,' said Marius, 'it will be very unkind in you, therefore, to go away without saluting your brethren.' At the same time, he ordered the kings of the Teutones to be brought out, loaded as they were with chains, for they had been taken by the Sequani, as they were endeavouring to escape across the Alps."

Is this credible? First, Marius is recalled, then he travels to Rome, as rapidly as we please. Then he makes speeches and the like. Thence, he marches to the Po.

Meanwhile (supposing the movements of the army to be simultaneous with those of Marius), but, *afterwards*, (if we maintain that he had a previous interview with Catulus,) the army moves from Aquæ Sextiæ to Verceilæ.

Is all this done with greater rapidity than the news of a defeat could pass from the Rhine to the Po? Did Marius reach Rome first, and the quarters of Catulus afterwards, in less time than the messengers from the Teutones reached the Cimbri? Did his army move over the same ground more quickly than those messengers?

Then, is the incredulity of the Cimbri probable? Were they members of an alliance sufficiently large to be formidable to Rome, and yet without communication with their allies? or was it part of their system to believe only what they chose? This is

mere child's play According to hypothesis, the two divisions had been acting in unison for more than ten years, having ravaged Illyria, Gaul, and Spain Was this an organization that could give such results as the conquests with which they are credited?

The account is Plutarch's, and it *may* have been taken from the commentaries of either Sylla or Catulus It *may*, however, have been a mere floating anecdote

This, however, is irrelevant to the main question, and is brought forward more with a view of showing how little we know about the populations in question I *think* that the Cimbri were Slavonians That they had as little to do with Cimbrie Chersonese, as the Teutones had with the Dutch, I am sure

SECTION XXV

THE PICTS *eo nomine*

The meaning of the words *eo nomine* will be explained in the next chapter, the present being devoted to the question—Who were the Picts?

Some make them Kelts of the British branch

Others make them Scandinavians

Others make them something else, but these are the only hypotheses which command our notice

The following facts, in favour of the former, are from a paper of Mr Garnett's, in the Transactions of the Philological Society —

1 When St Columba, whose mother-tongue was the Irish Gaelic, preached to the Picts, he used an interpreter—*Adamanus* apud *Colganum*, 1, 11, c 32 This shows the *difference* between the Pict and Gaelic

2 A manuscript in the Colbertine Library contains a list of Pict kings from the fifth century downwards These names are not only more Keltic than Gothic, but more Welsh than Gaelic *Turan* = *thunder* in Welsh *Uian* is the Welsh *Owen* The first syllable in *Talorg* (= *forehead*) is the *tal* in *Talharn* = *iron forehead*, *Taliessin* = *splendid forehead*, Welsh names *Wrgust* is nearer to the Welsh *Gwrgust* than to the Irish *Fergus* Finally, *Drust*, *Drostan*, *Wrad*, *Necton*, closely resemble the Welsh *Trwst*,

Tröstan, *Gwriad*, *Neythön*, whilst *Uineod*, and *Domhnall* (*Kenneth* and *Donnell*) are the only true Erse forms in the list. This shows the affinity between the Pict and Welsh.

3 The only Pict common name extant, is the well-known compound *penial*, which is in the oldest MS of Beda *peann fahel*. This means *caput ualli*, and is the name for the eastern termination of the Vallum of Antoninus. Herein *pen* is unequivocally Welsh, meaning *head*. It is an impossible form in Gache. *Fal*, on the other hand, is apparently Gache, the Welsh for a *rampart* being *gwall*. *Fal*, however, occurs in Welsh also, and means *inclosure*. "Incepit autem duorum ferme millium spatii à monasterio Eburacuræ ad occidentem, in loco qui sermone Pictorum *Peannfahel*, lingua autem Anglorum *Penneltun* appellatur, et tendens contra occidentem terminatur juxta Urbem Aklurth"—*Hist. Pic.* i. 12. In an interpolation, apparently of the twelfth century, of the Durham MS. of Nennius, it is stated that the spot in question was called in Gache *Cenail*. Now *Cenail* is the modern name *Kinnel*, and it is also a Gache translation of the Pict *penial*, since *cran* is the Gache for *head*, and *fhal* for *rampart* or *wall*. If the older form were Gache, the substitution, of translation, would have been superfluous.

4 The name of the *Ochil Hills* in Perthshire is better explained from the Pict *uchel* — *high*, than from the Gache *nasal*.

5 *Bynreich*, the British form of the province of Bernicia, is better explained by the Welsh *byn* = *ridge* (*hilly country*), than by any word in Gache — *Garnett*, in *Transactions of Philological Society*.

All this is in favour of the Picts having been not only Kelts, but Kelts of the British branch. At the same time, it is anything but conclusive.

Claydon often mentions the Picts. That he mentions them in company with the Saxons is a point of no great importance. He mentions them, however, as the occupants of a northern locality—a locality, at least, as far north as the Orkneys.

"Quid rigor æternus calis, quid sidera prosunt
Ignotumque fractum? maduerunt Saxone fuso
Orades, inebant Pictorum sanguine Thule,
Scotorum cumulos flevit glacialis Ierne."

De quart. Consul. Hon. 30. 34.

The northern locality indicated by this quotation points to-

wards Scandinavia. So do the local traditions of the Orkney and Shetland Islands, where the ruins of numerous ancient dwelling-places are called Pict Houses.

The next locality notable for traditions respecting the Picts is the Scottish border, or rather the line of the Roman wall, which is again attributed to the *Picts*.

So that we have the Picts' Wall in Cumberland and Northumberland, and the Picts' Houses in Orkney and Shetland, not to mention the Pentland (Pihltland) Firth, which is generally considered to be *fretum Pictorum*.

Again—the most Scandinavian parts of Scotland are Caithness, Orkney, and Shetland, also Pict.

Finally—the Danish termination *-by* occurs in Scotland nowhere between Dunscauby Head, on the Pentland Firth, and Annandale, in the parts about the Picts' Wall, where we have *Lockerbie*, etc.

I submit that no doctrine respecting the Pict ethnology should pretermitt these facts, however strong those of the opposite view may be.

Again—Nennius writes, “Post intervallum multorum annorum Picti venerunt et occupaverunt insulas quæ *Orcades* vocantur, et postea ex insulis affinitimis vastaverunt non modicas et multas regiones, occupaveruntque eas in sinistra^l plaga Britanniae, et manent usque in hodiernum diem. Ibi tertiam partem Britanniae tenuerunt et tenent usque nunc”—Nenn., cv.

Again—“Ut Brittones a Scottis vastati Pictisque Romanorum auxilia quæsierint, qui secundo venientes, murum trans insulam fecerunt, sed hoc confestim a praefatis hostibus interrupto, majore sui calamitate depressi.

“Exin Britannia in parte Brittonum, omni armato milite, militibus copis universis, tota florida juventutis alacritate spoliata, quæ Tyrannorum temeritate abducta nusquam ultra domum rediit, praede tantum patuit, utpote omnis bellici usus prorsus ignara. denique subito duobus gentibus *transmarinis* vehementer saëvis, Scottorum a^l Circio, *Pictorum ab Aquilone*, multos stupet gemitque per annos. Transmarinas autem dicimus has gentes, non quod extra Britanniam essent positæ, sed quia a parte Brittonum erant remotæ, duobus sinibus maris interjacentibus, quorum unus ab Orientali mari, alter ab Occidentali, Britanniae terras longe lateque inimpit, quamvis ad se invicem pertingere non possint. Orientalis habet in medio sui urbem

Gudi, Occidentalis supra se, hoc est, ad dexteram sui habet urbem Alcluth, quod lingua eorum significat ‘petram cluth,’ est enim juxta fluvium nominis illius

“Et cum plurimam insule partem, incipientis ab austro, possedissent, contigit gentem Pictorum de *Scythia*, ut perhibent, longis navibus non multis oceanum ingressam, circumagente flatu ventorum, extra fines omnes Britanniæ *Hiberniam* pervenisse, ejusque septentrionales oras intrasse, atque inventa ibi gente Scottorum, sibi quoque in partibus illius sedes petisse, nec impetrare potuisse. Ad hanc ergo usque pervenientes navigio Picti ut diximus, petierunt in ea sibi quoque sedes et habitationem donari. Respondebant Scotti, quia non ambo eos caperet insula. ‘Sed possumus,’ inquit, ‘salubre vobis dare consilium quid agere valeatis. Novimus insulam aliam esse non procul a nostra, contra ortum solis, quam sæpe lucidioribus diebus de longe aspicere solemus. Hanc adhuc si vultis, habitabilem vobis facere valeatis. vel si qui resistunt, nobis auxiliari utimini.’ Itaque patentes Britanniam Picti, habitare per septentrionales insulæ partes coeperunt, nam Austina Brittones occupaverant. *Cumque uxores Picti non habentes peterent a Scottis*, ea solum conditione dare consenserunt, ut ubi res perveniret in dubium, *magis de feminea regum prosapia*, quam de masculina regem sibi eligerent. *quod usque hodie apud Pictos constat esse scriptum.*”

In these extracts a *third* of Britain is given to the Picts. Now a *third* is the portion which is afterwards given to the Scandinavians.

The fact of the royal blood running in the *female* line invalidates the inference drawn from the British character of the names of the Pict kings.

But there is the evidence of the Pict glosses, which are British. But is it certain that they are Pict?

Take a series of names from some of the more English parts of Wales, *e g* the puts about Swansea. They will be Welsh, in respect to the country they come from, but they will not be from the language of the Welshmen.

May not this be the case here? We must choose between a conflict of difficulties. The British hypothesis will not account for the Picts of Orkney, nor the Scandinavian for words like *Peanjahel*.

I conclude with the following extract from Bede —“*Procedente autem tempore, Britannia post Brittones et Pictos, tertiam*

Scotorum nationem in Pictorum parte recepit, qui duce *Reuda* de Hibernia progressi, vel amicitia vel ferro sibi inter eos sedes quas hactenus habent, vindicarunt a quo videlicet duce usque hodie *Dalreudini* vocantur, nam lingua eorum *daal* partem significat "

But one view has been taken of the construction of this passage, viz., that *qui* refers to the word *Scotorum*, so that it was the *Scots* who came from Ireland, the *Scots* whom *Reuda* led, the *Scots* in whose language *daal* meant part. Nevertheless, the true antecedent may be the word *Pictorum*.

At any rate, we remember that *daal* = *part* is *not* a Scotch, and is a Scandinavian word.

SECTION XXVI

ON THE CRUTHNEACH

The investigation of the ethnological relations of the Cruthneach is part and parcel of the question concerning the position of the Picts.

It is generally, perhaps universally, stated that the name by which the Picts were known to the Irish was *Cruthneach*, or rather it should be said that the general or universal translation of the word *Cruthneach*, a word which appears frequently in the Irish Chronicles, is *Pict*. The fact, however, has never been proved. I may, indeed, say that it has never been investigated. What does it rest on in the way of external evidence? Nothing. What in the way of internal? That, word for word, *Cruthneach* is *Pict*, is what no one has pretended. Neither has any one maintained that the one term is a translation of the other. *Pict*, where it has been translated at all, has been connected with the Latin *pictus*, *painted*. *Cruthneach*, on the other hand, where it has been interpreted, has been made a derivative of the Greek word *κριθον* (*krithon*) = *barley*. Neither of these views is correct, the latter being absurd. These are noticed, however, for the sake of shewing that the two names have never been looked upon as equivalents in the way of signification. If *Cruthneach*, then, mean *Pict*, it means it in the same way that *German* means *Dutch* the words being different, and their meanings, so far as they have any, being different also. But

before it is stated that two words unconnected both in form and power mean the same thing, special evidence should be adduced, and this, in the case before us, has not been done.

It may be said, however, that the history of the Cruithneach is that of the Picts. This, however, is saying too much. All that can be stated with accuracy is that there is nothing incompatible between the two. What likelier place and time for a Pict invasion than Ireland in the sixth century?

But this is not enough. The following is an argument against the two words being identical. All the nations with which the Picts have ever been connected were known to the Irish under names other than Cruithneach. Were they Kelts? If so, the name, even in Ireland, would be Briton, or Scot, or Gael. Were they Scandinavians? If so, Ilochlm was what the Irish would call them—Ilochlm or Tuath-da-Danum (i.e. Danes).

Let us take a purely formal view of the word. Suppose *Cruithneach* had been a name, *totidm libris*, of a nation in the north of Europe, occupant of a seacoast, and situated in a country from which Ireland could be invaded? What should we have made of the word then? There is, assumedly, something which we should *not* have done. We should not have made it mean *Pict*, however well the Pict history might have suited. On the contrary, we should have taken it as we found it, and simply said that, besides such and such invasions of Ireland, there was a Cruithneach one also. We might, indeed, if the identification of the Picts gave us trouble, make the Picts Cruithneach, but this would be very different from making the Cruithneach Picts.

We may put the case differently. We may take some nation actually existing, under conditions of time and place, that would give them the same position in the Irish annals that is given to the Cruithneach. We may indeed, write their name instead of Cruithneach, wherever that word appears. Let us do this, and let the name be Fin. Who will say that, if the Fins appeared instead of the Cruithneach throughout the pages of the Irish historians, he would refine upon the fact so patently suggested by the name, viz., that there was a Fin invasion of Ireland. All that he could say was that it was not exactly the invasion he expected—that Picts in their place would be the likelier population. Thus, and the like, he might say, but he would never deny a Fin invasion, simply on the strength of its com-

parative improbability. He would be satisfied with what the name suggested.

What we have hitherto only supposed, is now stated to be a real fact, not exactly one according to the strict terms of the previous hypotheses, but one closely approaching them.

No such name as *Cruithneach* is known in any part of Europe whence Ireland could be accessible—no such name, *totidem literis*.

Neither is any name exactly like it universally admitted to have prevailed in any part of Europe whence Ireland was accessible at the time of the Cruithneach invasions.

We have not the thing, then, exactly.

But we have a near approach to it. It is submitted —

1. That the parts on the Lower Vistula are parts from which invasions of Ireland were practicable.

2. That the name for the population occupant of these parts in the eleventh century, is universally admitted to have been some form of the root *Pr-th*, and good reason can be given for the same designation having been current at the time of the Cruithneach.

3. *Pruth* is nearly the same as *Cruithneach* *totidem literis*. But it is as nearly the same as *Cruithneach* because of *p* in the Irish-Gaelic will allow. *Cruith-* is the form that *Pruth-* would take in Irish Gaelic, where *c* replaces *p*.

Word for word, then, we may deal with Cruithneach as if it were actually Pruthneach, at any rate, it is the only form which the word could take in Gaelic.

SECTION XXVII

THE LINGUA BRITANNIC PROPRIOR OF THE AMBER COAST

For this, see Section II, which is really an anticipation of the chapter which otherwise would appear here.

For the further notice of the Picts and Cruithneach, see the next section.

SECTION XXVIII

THE SARMATIAN HYPOTHESIS

Separating the *Picts* from the *Criuthneach*, we have found reasons in favour of the former having been Scandinavians, *i.e.* Norwegians, Swedes, or Danes.

Separating the *Criuthneach* from the *Pict*, we have found reasons in favour of them (the *Criuthneach*) having been Pruthneach, i.e. Pruthemans, or Prussians.

With the two populations thus isolated, the doctrine suggested by the latter inference is free from complications. It may, indeed, be erroneous. It is not, however, traversed by any real or apparent incompatibilities.

Is it equally uncomplicated if the current identification of the two stand good? I submit that it is so to a great extent. Prussians would come from the north, Scandinavians would do no more. Prussians might settle in the Pict localities just as easily as Danes. If a Prussian origin is impugned by the statements at the beginning of Section XXV, so is an origin from Norway. If the objections, however, are insufficient against the Norwegian, they are equally so against the Prussian hypothesis.

On the other hand, however, it must be admitted that the forms in *-by*, and the gloss *duab*, are more Scandinavian than Prussian, though the latter is not a word on which much stress is laid.

The identity, then, of the *Criuthneach* with the *Picts* is compatible with a Scandinavian (Northern), incompatible with a Keltic, affinity for the latter.

I add to this remark the following. Supposing the *Picts* not to have been Kelts, there is a slight fact against their being Scandinavians in the term *Pentland*. It is Norse. But is it a term that one Norse, or Scandinavian population, in the limited sense of the word, would apply to another? I think not. When the Norwegians, Danes, or Swedes, spoke of *Picts*, they certainly meant something other than Swedish, Danish or Norwegian.

Such, then, is the Prussian hypothesis—an hypothesis for which I only claim a share of the credit, in case it be true. I am at liberty to connect it with the name of my friend Professor Graves, who, on the strength of a wholly independent series of researches, not only identifies the Cruithneach of the Irish Chronicles with the Prussians, but also the Fomorians of the same with the Pomoranians. If this be the case (as I believe it is), the northern elements in Great Britain and Ireland are as follows —(1) Scandinavian, — Danish, Norwegian, Swedish, (2) Sarmatian, *a* Slavonic — Pomorian, *b* Lithuanic — Prussian.

I am inclined to add Fin, or Ugrian, elements as well. The exposition, however, of this doctrine forms no part of the present work.

CHAPTER I

Preliminary survey of the forms of words and the permutations of letters

SECTION I

Introductory Remarks

IN order to display, in its real extent, the affinity which subsists between the Celtic dialects and other languages, it will be necessary to compare them in two different points of view, and to examine, in the first place, the relations between their respective vocabularies or stocks of primitive words or roots, and secondly, the peculiarities and coincidences in their grammatical structure. But before we enter into details which properly belong to either of these subjects, we must consider some general principles of inflection, which have an important influence on the structure of words and sentences in several of the languages to be examined.

SECTION II.

Of the permutation of letters in composition and construction—Of Sandhi and Samas in Sanskrit—Of the same principles as discovered in the Celtic dialects—in the Welsh—in the Irish—Of the digamma and sibilant in Greek

It is a habit common to many of the Indo-European languages to interchange certain letters accord-

ing to rules founded originally on euphony, or on the facility of utterance, and from this circumstance arises the great capability, which these languages possess, of composition, or the formation of compound words. The substitution of consonants of particular orders for their cognates, which takes place in Greek in the composition of words, and in some other instances, is an example of this peculiarity.

In Greek, in Latin, and in the German dialects, the mutation of consonants is confined to words brought together under very peculiar circumstances, as chiefly when they enter into the formation of compound terms, and it is scarcely observed in words which still remain distinct, and are merely constituent parts of sentences. Either the attention to euphony and the ease of utterance has not extended so far, or the purpose was attained by a choice of collocation, the words themselves remaining unaltered. But in the Sanskrit language words merely in sequence have an influence upon each other in the change of terminations, and sometimes of initial letters, on the principle above alluded to. Thus, instead of *atishthat manujah*, stabat homo, the man stood, we find the words written *atishthan manujah*, the final *t* of the verb *atishthat*, stabat, being altered into *n* on account of the liquid consonant with which the next word begins. This change in distinct words is termed by the Sanskrit grammarians सन्धि, Sandhi, conjunction, but the laws ac-

according to which compound words are formed, and which have a similar reference to euphony, are designated समास, Samāsa, coalition. This last process is to be observed in most, if not in all the European languages, and the rules which govern it in all instances are very similar, but the alteration of consonants in entire words, according to the rules of Sandhi, have been considered as in a great measure peculiar to the Sanskrit. It is, however, a remarkable fact, that in the Celtic dialects, and more especially in the Welsh, permutations in many respects analogous to those of Sandhi are constant and indispensable in the formation of sentences. It is impossible to bring three or four words together in the Celtic languages, without modifications similar in their principle to those of Sandhi.

The general principle of these changes in Sanskrit may be understood by the following table of consonants, arranged according to the organs by means of which they are pronounced, and likewise according to the intensity and mode of utterance. The former arrangement is analogous in some respects to that of the Greek mutes, but more numerous and comprehensive. It consists of five classes, termed Guttural, Palatine, Lingual, Dental, and Labial. To these is added a sixth, consisting of semivowels; and a seventh, containing Sibilants and an Aspirate, which is associated with the Sibilants. The second division is into two orders termed Surds and Sonants.

	SURDS			SONANTS		
Gutturals	K	K'h	G	G'h	Ng	
Palatines	Ch	Ch'h	J	J'h	Gn	
Linguals	T	T'h	D	D'h	N	
Dentals	T	T'h	D	D'h	N	
Labials	P	P'h	B	B'h	M	
Semivowels			Y	R	L	V
Sibilants	S	Sh	S	H		

The vowels are included
among the Sonants

The laws of Sandhi forbid the meeting of consonants of different orders. Hence a surd consonant at the end of a word is changed with the corresponding sonant, if the next word begins with a sonant, and sonants are changed into surds if the following words begin with surds.

Nearly of the same description are the mutations of consonants in the Celtic language, but in order to obtain a view of the whole system of these changes, it is necessary to compare several dialects, as there is not one which preserves them all in an entire state. The Welsh alphabet has them, however, in greater variety than the others. In this all mute consonants of the order termed above surds have four forms, and those which correspond with the sonants have three. The semivowels or liquids have two. The sibilant letter had probably its mutation into the aspirate, but this is lost in Welsh, though preserved, as we shall see, in the Erse

First order, the primitive letters being surds.

	First form, Sharp	Second form, Obtuse	Third form, Aspirate	Fourth form, Liquid
Gutturals	c	g	ch	ngh
Dentals	t	d	th	nh
Labials	p	b	ph	mh

Second order, in which the primitives are sonants
These have two changes

	Primitive	Obtuse	Liquid
Gutturals	g	initial omitted	ng
Dentals	d	dh or Saxon þ	n
Labials	b	v	m

Third order, Liquids These have one change

lh (corresponding with the surd lh or lr of the Vedas)	l
m	v
rh	r

OF THE MUTATIONS OF CONSONANTS IN THE IRISH OR GAELIC

In the Erse dialect of the Celtic language the mutations of consonants are not so varied. Each consonant appears in two forms only, which are termed the plain and the aspirated. But the aspirated forms in the Erse are often the obtuse forms in Welsh, the aspiration being deceptive, and arising from the imperfect orthography adopted in this language. The addition of *h* to the primitive consonants serves only to render it obtrusive, or, in other instances, to obliterate it. On this account I

shall set down the table of consonants, with one column for the obtuse letters as usually spelled, and another indicating their pronunciation, which is in general similar to that of the obtuse forms in Welsh.

	Plain or primitive form	Secondary form as spelled	Secondary form as articulated
Gutturals	C or K	Ch	X aspirate } or Kh
	G hard	Gh	
Dentals	T	Th	H
	D	Dh	
Labials	P	Ph	F
	B	Bh	V
	M	Mh	V
Liquids	F	Fh or H	H
	L (like Welsh Lh)	L	L plain
	N	N	
	R (like Rh)	R	
Sibilants	S	Sh	H
		S } or H	

It is to be observed that H never stands as the initial of a word in Erse in the primitive form, or is never in fact an independent radical letter. It is merely a secondary form or representative of some other initial, viz. F or S. It must likewise be noticed, that the same words which begin with S or F as their primitive initial in the Erse, taking H in their secondary form, have in Welsh H as their primitive initial. This fact affords an instance exactly parallel to the substitution in Greek of the rough and soft breathings for the Æolic digamma, and, in other

words, for the sigma *Οἶνον*, as it is well known, stands for *ροῖνον*, "*Εσπερος* for *ῥέσπερος*, and *ἐπτα* probably replaced a more ancient form of the same word, viz, *σепта*, *ξξ* stands for *σξξ*, *ὕς* and *ἔρω* for *σὺς* and *σέρπω*. These instances might lead us to suppose, as Sir Edward Lhuyd has long ago observed, that the Greek language had originally a regular mutation of initial consonants, similar to that of the Celtic, though it was lost, except in these instances, or rather as pointed out by these vestiges, previously to the invention of letters ⁽¹¹⁾

It is necessary to explain somewhat more fully the nature of these mutations of consonants in the Celtic language, and this can only be done by pointing out the circumstances under which they take place. The following examples are from the Welsh —

I. Words of four initials.

CULTURALS

Câr, a kinsman

- 1 form, *Câr agos*, a near kinsman.
- 2 form, *Ei gâr*, his kinsman
- 3 form, *Ei châr*, her kinsman.
- 4 form, *Vy nghâr*, my kinsman

DI N FATHERS

Tâd, a father.

- 1 form, *Tâd y plentyn*, the child's father
- 2 form, *Ei dâd*, his father.
- 3 form, *Ei thâd*, her father
- 4 form, *Vy nhâd*, my father

LABIALS

Pen, a head.

- 1 form, Pen gŵr, the head of a man
- 2 form, Ei ben, his head
- 3 form, Ei phen, her head
- 4 form, Vy mhen, my head

II. Words of three initials

GUTTURALS

Gwâs, a servant.

- 1 form, Gwâs fydhlon, a faithful servant
- 2 form, Ei wâs, his servant.
- 3 form, Vy ngwâs, my servant

DENTALS

Duw, a god

- 1 form, Duw trugaiog, a merciful god
- 2 form, Ei dhuw, his god.
- 3 form, Vy nuw, my god.

LABIALS

Bara, bread.

- 1 form, Bara caun, white bread.
- 2 form, Ei vara, his bread
- 3 form, Vy mara, my bread

III Words of two initials, liquids and sibilants.

Lhaw, a hand

- 1 form, Lhaw wenn, a white hand
- 2 form, Ei law, his hand

Mam, a mother.

- 1 form, Mam dirion, a tender mother
- 2 form, Ei vam, his mother.

Rhwyd, a net

1 form, Rhwyd lawn, a full net.

2 form, Ei rwyd, his net.

As the sibilant has no similar inflexion in Welsh,
I must take an example from the Eise

Súil, ' an eye.

1 form, Súil

2 form, a húil, his eye

Slánte, health

2 form, Do hlánte, your health.

N B F has the same mutation

Words beginning with vowels in Welsh are subject to changes similar to those belonging to the form Guna in Sanskrit. They also take the aspirate after words which cause the consonants to be aspirated.

In Welsh composition, these changes in the initial consonants take place more frequently in reference to the sense of words and the rules of grammatical construction, and without any respect to the principle of euphony which governs the Sandhi in Sanskrit. But there are a great many similar changes in Welsh, for which no other reason can be assigned than some real or fancied advantage in respect to sound or the facility of utterance. It must likewise be observed, that in some instances

* In these instances the initial *s*, though converted into an aspirate in pronunciation, is sometimes retained in orthography, either with a dot over it, or followed by *h*. But in either case the sibilant is entirely lost. There seems to be no precise rule of orthography in this instance.

changes are induced in the terminating consonants of preceding words, as well as in the initials of succeeding ones.

In the influence which some of the numerals have on other words examples may be found tending to illustrate these remarks.

Un makes no change in the following noun, as
un gwr, one man.

Tu and chwech change the initials into the corresponding aspirates, as

tu châr, for tu câr

chwech châr, or chwe châr

Dêg, ten, before blynedh, years, changes not only the initial of the following word into its corresponding liquid, but likewise its own final consonant into the liquid analogous to it. Thus, instead of

dêg blynedh,

we read

dêng mlynedh, ten years,

and instead of

pump blynedh,

we find

pum mlynedh, five years.

In like manner, when the preposition *yn* is prefixed to a noun, it not only changes the initial of the following noun on the same principle of euphony, or ease of pronunciation, but is likewise itself changed. Thus, for

yn canol, we read yng nghanol,

yn pen „ ym mhen,

yn tỳ, we read yn nhỳ,
 yn bara „ ym mara,
 yn gwr „ yng ngwr.

The changes above described are in a great measure analogous to those which have been pointed out as taking place in Sanskrit, except that the latter affect principally, though by no means exclusively, the terminations of words.

NOTE ON SECTION II

(11) This doctrine is exceptionable. All that the examples of the text show is that the digamma of certain stages and dialects became lost or changed, and that the Greeks used *h* in certain cases where the Latins used *s*. The evidence that such forms as *her*, *ser*, or *ter* (*τετς*), ever existed in the same dialect of the Greek languages at the same time is wholly inconclusive.

SECTION III

Of the interchange of particular letters between different languages—
 Table of numerals—Observations deduced from it

There is another comparison of corresponding consonants and vowels, or of letters frequently and habitually interchanged, which it is necessary to take into consideration, before we can proceed with advantage in examining the analogies which exist between languages of the same stock. I refer to the phenomena which relate to the interchange of particular letters in the derivation of words from one dialect into another, or in deducing them into both from a common original, and to facts which prove

that these changes take place according to certain rules, and not by a merely accidental variation or corruption.

In order to ascertain the rules which govern this system of changes, it is necessary to proceed with great caution. The vague conjectures in which writers upon etymology have too frequently indulged, have brought ridicule and contempt upon the legitimate pursuits of the philologist, and upon the philosophical study of languages, and have induced some persons to entertain doubt, whether it is possible to deduce from this quarter any historical conclusions of importance, either as to the derivation of languages themselves, or of the tribes of people who are found to use them. As an introduction to what may be stated on this subject, I lay before my readers a comparison of the cardinal numbers in several Indo-European languages. It will be apparent on a very superficial glance, that the words expressing these numerals in all the dialects mentioned are derived from one origin, though variously modified; and a survey of these modifications will shew the particular changes which words and the elements of words assume in the respective languages.

SANSKRIT	PERSIAN	RUSSIAN	LATIN	ENSE	WELSH	GREEK	ALFSGOTHIC	OLD HIGH GERMAN
एक वि द्वी	یک دو	odin' dva' dvaie	unus, a, um duo, duae, } 1 e duae } tres tria	aeu du } du }	un dau dwy }	εἷς, μία, ἐν δύω, δύο	ans, ana, ain twal, twos, twa tue	ein
त्रि	سه	tri	tres tria	tri	tri tun }	τρεις, 1 e τρεῖς τρία	thrins	thri
चतुर	چهار	chahar chetyre	quatuor, pator, Osc un }	keathau pedar, }	peduar, pedar, }	πέντε, } πέντε τέτορα	fidwor	fiunar
पञ्च	پنج	panj	quinque	kung	pump	πέμπε πέντε }	finaf	finfe
षष्ठ	شش	shesh'	sex	sc	chwech	ἕξ	sahs	sehs
सप्त	هفت	scm osm voscm }	septem	secht	sauth	ἐπτά	sibun	sibun
अष्ट	هشت	hasht	octo	ocht	wyth	ὀκτώ	ahlan	ohito
नव	نه	davyat'	novem	noi	naw	ἐννέα	nihun	nguni
दश	ده	dasyat'	decem	deich	deg	δέκα	tahun	tehan
विंशति	دس	bist	viginti	fichid	ngam	είκοσι, 9 e feikowti(?) }	twaimtigum	tuentig
त्रिंशत्	سی	tritlat'	triginta	dech ar hichid }	dég ar ugun }	τριάκοντα	thrinstigum	thritig
शत	صد	sto	centum	kett	cant	ἑκατόν	hund	hunt

A very slight inspection of these tables will be sufficient to convince any person that nearly all the words contained in them are derived by each language from some of its cognates, or by all from a common source. It is therefore allowable to make them a subject of examination, from which the peculiarities of each dialect may, so far as such a specimen can extend, be discovered

It is easy to observe that certain consonants, or certain classes of consonants in one language, are almost uniformly substitutes for certain others in a different language, and although this observation can here be made only on a confined scale from so small a specimen of the vocabulary, it may be sufficient for furnishing suggestions which will be amply established from other materials

One of the most striking facts that appears on comparing these lists of numerals is, that in some of the languages of western Europe guttural or hard palatine consonants abound, and take the place of the sibilants, soft palatines, and dentals, and even of the labial consonants, which are found in the more eastern and in some northern languages

Thus

श s			c, t, k
स s			q
ष sh	}	are converted into	g
प p			ch, t, x
π			κ
τ			

NUMERAL 10

dasan, Sansk	sh	} becomes	κ	δέκα,	Greek
			c	decem,	Lat
			ch	dech,	Else
			g	dêg,	Welsh
			h	tchan,	Teut
			h	tahun,	Goth

NUMERAL 20

vimsati, Sansk	sh	} becomes	g	viginti,	Lat
			g	ngan,	Welsh
			κ	εἴκοσι, ^a	Greek
			ch	siehd,	Else

NUMERAL 30

timsat, Sansk	sh	} becomes	κ	τριάκοντα,	Greek
			g	triginta,	Lat

NUMERAL 100

satam, Sansk sad, Pers	sh s	} become	κ	ἑκατὸν,	Greek
			c	centum,	Lat
			e	cant,	Welsh
			k	kett,	Else
			h	hunt,	Goth

The preceding facts suggest the following observations

The Sanskrit and some other languages holding a near relation to it in the forms of words abound in sibilants and soft palatine consonants. They have these letters in several instances, in which cognate words in other languages have in the place of them gutturals, or hard palatines, or dentals

^a εἴκοσι was probably τεῖκοσι

The Greek substitutes for the sibilants and soft palatines of the Sanskrit, chiefly the *tenués* of the hard palatine or guttural class and of the dental, viz, χ and τ . In several instances the Greek, particularly the Æolic, has π in the place of the Sanskrit soft palatine, or च ch; as in $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\mu\pi\epsilon$ for pancha, $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\upsilon\rho\alpha$ ($\pi\acute{\epsilon}\tau\upsilon\rho\alpha$?) for chatur.

The Welsh makes nearly the same substitutions as the Æolic Greek. It puts p for the soft palatine ch in the instances before mentioned. It substitutes more generally hard palatines or gutturals (either c, *i e* k), or ch for the soft palatines and sibilants of Sanskrit. It has the aspirate guttural ch instead of the aspirate sibilant sh. It has *ll* in the place of et and pt.

The Eise substitutes for the sibilants and soft palatines of the Sanskrit, gutturals, as the hard c or k, as also in some instances the guttural aspirate ch.

The Latin displays nearly the same phenomena as the Eise. It puts c or qu, equivalent to k, in the places of the letters above mentioned. Neither the Eise nor the Latin adopts the p of the Welsh and Æolic Greek, but they have c or q instead of it, as in other instances where the Sanskrit has ch च.

The Gothic and other Teutonic dialects resemble the Welsh and the Æolic Greek, except in the circumstance that they prefer aspirate consonants, as *finfe* for $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\mu\pi\epsilon$ or pump, *fidwor* for *pedwar*, or $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\tau\upsilon\rho$, *thri* for *tri*. They likewise substitute the simple h in the place of palatines and sibilants in other lan

guages, as may be seen in a variety of instances, as in the numerals, 6, 8, 9, 10, 100. The Persic and the Greek languages use the aspirate in some instances in a similar manner.

We are not yet prepared for entering on a comparison of the vowels and diphthongs as they are related to each other in these cognate languages.

CHAPTER II.

Further proofs and extension of the observations laid down in the
preceding chapter

SECTION I

Introductory remarks

THE changes which I have pointed out in the preceding section between particular consonants in the derivation of words from one language to another, appear, in some instances, so unlikely, and the analogy, if any, in pronunciation is so remote, that many of my readers may be disposed to regard the examples on which I have founded my remarks as a mere result of accidental coincidence. These changes are, notwithstanding, regular and systematic. I shall not attempt to account for them, or to say how they took place, but they are accordant with observations which may be traced to a great extent in the comparison of kindred languages. As I cannot, however, expect that any person should be convinced of this fact on my assertion, I shall here adduce some further evidence.

SECTION II

Of the interchange of palatine or guttural consonants with labials in the different languages

The interchange of cognate letters, both mutes and liquids,^a is a thing familiar to every body, but the permutation of palatines into labials appears much more improbable. We have observed that this interchange has taken place in several instances in the numerals of Indo-European languages. Great as the difference is between such elements of articulation as *k* and *p*, we find them to stand as representatives for each other even in two different dialects of the same language. Some dialects of the Greek language afford a well-known exemplification of this remark. The Ionians and Æolians inserted *κάππα* in a variety of words, instead of *πι*, used in the other Grecian dialects. This remark has been made by many of the scholiasts and old grammarians, and more fully by Vossius,^b who says, “*Iones in interrogativis et relativis mutant π in κ. Ita κῶς dicunt pro πῶς. ὁκῶς pro ὀπῶς, κῆ pro πῆ, πύσος, κόσος, ὀπόσος, ὀκόσος, ποῖος, κοῖος, ὀποῖος, ὀκοῖος, πότε,*

^a The cognate mutes are

t, d, th

k, g, ch

p, b, ph

Cognate liquids or semivowels are in many languages the following

l, r, v

^b Gerard Joh. Vossii de Litterarum permutatione Tractatus, Etymol. Ling. Lat. prefix, p. 24. ed. Neap. 1762

κότε, ὀπότε, ὀκούτε Græcis quoque κύαμος est faba. Æoles quoque uti κ pro π testatur Etymologici auctor in κοῖος Sic Latini jecur a Gr. ἥπαρ, et scintilla, quasi spintilla, a σπινθήρ”

The same writer has adduced other instances in which this interchange has taken place between the Greek and Latin

Lupus	λύκος
Sepes	σήκος
Spolia	σκυλα
Vespas	σφηκάς

“Maxime tamen locum id habet in his vocibus, in quibus juxta Ionicæ et Æolicæ dialecti proprietatem, π transit in κ.

Equus ab Æolico ἵκκος pro ἵππος

Inquo ab Æolico ἐννέκω „ Gr ἐννέπω

Lingua ab Æolico λείκω „ Gr λείπω vel a λείπω,

„ λιμπάνω

Quā ab Ion κῆ pro Gē πῆ

Quatuor a πέττορα, κέττορα

Quinque a πέντε, πέμπε, κένκε

Quis a τὶς, κίς

Quoties ab Ionice κότε, Gē πότε

Quotus a κότος, pro πότος

Sequi ab ἔκομαι pro ἔπομαι”

The learned Edward Lhuyd has observed that a similar interchange of p and k takes place regularly between the Welsh and those dialects of the Celtic language I shall cite his words and the evidence he adduces for this remark

“It is very remarkable that there are scarce any words in the Irish, besides what are borrowed from the Latin, or some other language, that begin with p, inasmuch that in an ancient alphabetic vocabulary I have by me that letter is omitted, and it is no less observable that a considerable number of those words, whose initial letter in the British language is a p, begin in the Irish with a k, or, as they constantly write it, with a c. This partly appears by the following examples —

Paul, W	a pole or stake,	Kûal, li
Pêth,	{ a thing, part, share, } { some, }	Kod, Koda, Kûyd
Pà ?	what ?	Kâ ?
Pâsk,	Easter,	Kâsg
Peneas, Corn	Whitsuntide,	Kauks
Peiswin, W	chaff,	Kaithsloan
Pesuch,	a cough, .	Kasachd
Pen,	a head,	Keann
Puy,	who ?	Kia ?
Pûvlh,	sense or meaning,	Kîal
Plant,	children,	Klann and Klaid
Plýv,	feathers,	Klûv
Peduan,	four,	Kathan
Pymp, .	five,	Kûng
Parr,	a furnace or cauldron,	Kun and Kone
Pren,	a ton,	Kran
Pâr,	a couple,	Koraid
Prîdh,	earth or clay,	Kriadh
Pa raid,	wherefore,	K'ied
Prýv,	a worm, .	Kîûv
Pob,	every,	Geach or Gach

And sometimes in other parts of the words we find the same as

Yspýdhad,	a hawthorn,	Skiathaeh
Mâp or Mâb,	a son,	Mak

The preceding examples are quite sufficient to establish the fact asserted in the present section. We shall hereafter find the application of this remark.

SECTION III

Of the interchange of sibilant and soft palatine consonants with gutturals or hard palatines.

It has been customary in many languages, and in our own among others, to soften the guttural or hard palatine letters, or to interchange them with other elements of pronunciation which are termed sibilants and soft palatines. We substitute the ordinary *ch* in the place of the hard *c*, or the *k* of other cognate languages, and say *church* for *kirk* or *kuche*. The Italians pronounce *Tschitschiero* a name which the Greeks wrote *Κικέρων*. Secondly, many nations are in the habit of softening the *g*, and giving it the pronunciation of our *j*, as we are accustomed to do when this consonant comes before the vowels *e* and *i*. Thirdly, we shall find some languages converting the guttural aspirate *χ* or *ch* into *sh*, as the Welsh substitute *chwech* for the Sanskrit *shash*.

It will illustrate the two former of these changes

to observe that the Sanskrit च ch¹ is interchangeable in the regular inflexions of that language for क k, and ज j likewise for ग g. Thus, verbs beginning with k, in the reduplication of the initial, which in Sanskrit, as in Greek, is a character of the preterperfect tense, substitute ch for k, and verbs beginning with g substitute j for that consonant. The following are examples

ROOT	PRESENT	PRETERPERFECT
क kri, (to make)	करोति, karoti	चकार, chakára
गै gai, (to sing)	गायति, gayati	जगी, jagau

We cannot find a parallel fact in the Sanskrit language for the third remark, which respects the interchange of the aspirate sibilant for the aspirate guttural, because the Sanskrit has no consonant analogous to the Greek χî or the Welsh ch.

The preceding remarks will be more conspicuous if we place these changes in a tabular form, as follows —

क k,	or c,	or q,	interchanged for च ch.
„	„	„	sometimes for श s, ष sh, or स s
ग g,	„	„	„ ज j
χî	as or	chpate	guttural, for श s, ष sh, or स s.

It must be observed that the Greek χî and Ζήτρα are to be included in many instances among the palatine letters, and fall under the same rules of permutation. χî is sometimes represented in Sanskrit by च ksh, but frequently by the simple cha-

¹ Ch, as in cherry

racter corresponding with sh. *Zḡta*, when it is the characteristic of verbs making the future in ξω, may properly be considered as a palatine letter, and it will be found represented in Sanskrit by palatine consonants.

I shall exemplify these remarks by some lists of words in addition to those instances already discovered among the numerals, in which the above-mentioned interchanges occur. The first series contains examples of soft palatines in one language, and hard palatines or gutturals in another; the second, cases in which j is substituted for hard g, and the third, words in which sibilants appear in the place of gutturals or hard palatines.

I. Words in which च ch or ch soft is interchanged with hard palatine letters.

WORDS HAVING च CH OR CH SOFT	WORDS HAVING HARD PALATINES
च cha, and, subjoined to the noun,	καὶ (Gr), que (Lat)
chatui,	quatuor
locha,	look (Eng),
lochate,	looketh
λεύσσει, }	lucet (Lat)
lochayati,	lhugad, i e lhugad (W)
lochanam (an eye)	voes (Lat)
vāchās,	βάζει, i e βάκει, unde
vachati, or }	βάξιν.
vakti, }	χέεται, χέεται.
chyotati,	ὀρέγεται.
richch'hatī (S) }	circicht (Germ)
reacheth (Eng) }	

WORDS HAVING च CH OR CH SOFT

uchcha, and }
 uchchah, } high
 uchchatā (arrogance)
 church,

WORDS HAVING HARD CHATINIS

uch, uchel (W)
 hoch (German)
 uchad (W), act of rising
 κυριακή, kuche, etc

II. The following are examples of j or ञ in Sanskrit supplying the place of γ or g in Greek and other European words

SANSKRIT

jānuh,
 jāni,
 jāran,
 jāratī,
 jājati,
 jāgas,
 jālas,
 tejayati, he sharpens
 ajah,
 rūṣm

EUROPEAN LANGUAGES

genu, γόνυ, knee
 γυνή.
 γέρον
 γραῦς.
 jugat
 ἐγρίγορος
 begotten, γέτης
 θήγεται
 αἶγα, goat
 ruem

III Instances of sibilant consonants interchanged for gutturals *

SIBILANTS

dris, root
 dādārsā,
 dans, root,
 dasati,
 misrayati,
 misram,

GUTTURALS

δέρκειν
 δέδορκα
 δάκνειν
 δάκνει
 μίσγεται
 mixtum,

* The words in the left hand columns not otherwise specified, and neither English, nor Latin or Greek, are Sanskrit

SIBILANTS	GUTTURALS
aswah	{ equus each (Erse) soccerum socius pecus
asp (Persian)	
swasutam,	
swasrus,	
pasus,	
swasaram,	{ khwāhan (Pers) khwaci (Welsh)
sorotem,	
schwester (Germ)	
sun (Erse)	
sister,	
δρόσος,	druchd (Erse)
seta (Lat)	χαίτη kesah (Sansk)
suess (Germ), sweet,	chwys (W)
silex (Lat)	χίλιξ
schwan (Germ), swan,	κύκνος
short (Eng)	cantus, court
chien (French)	canis
sus (Lat)	{ 'chūk (Pers) hwch (Welsh)
ûs (Gr)	

SECTION IV

Of the relations of the aspirate—Of the substitution of the aspirate in several languages for S and for F,—Of the aspirate as a guttural or hard palatine

The state of Greek words beginning with the aspirate, or with the digamma, has long been an object of attention among grammarians. Some of the facts connected with this subject are capable of

elucidation by a reference to the laws of the Celtic language

It was observed by Edward Lhuyd, that II is never the first or proper initial of any word in the Fise language, but that words beginning with F or with S change that initial according to the laws of permutation peculiar to this dialect of the Celtic into II. Hence he infers with probability, that in the primitive form of these words they began with F or S, and that cognate words which begin with II in other languages have lost their proper initial. In like manner some Greek words now beginning with an aspirate have lost an original digamma, while others, as *ἐπτά* and *ἐξ*, corresponding with *septem* and *sex* in Latin, and with *sapta* and *shash* in Sanskrit, have in all probability lost an initial S.*

The following words, collected by Lhuyd, are cognate in the Welsh and Fise languages. In the Fise they begin with S in their primitive form, and with H in a secondary form, or *in regimine*. In Welsh they have only one beginning, with II. I add a third column to shew the correspondences presented by other languages, or merely to point out the meaning.

ERSE	WELSH	OTHER LANGUAGES	MEANING
sailecôg or hailecôg	helig	salix (L.)	willow.
salan or halan	halen	sal, ἅλς	salt

* Lhuyd remarks with great probability, that such phenomena indicate the former existence of a system of permutation in other languages, similar to that which is still preserved in the Celtic dialects.

FIRST	WELSH	OTHER LANGUAGES	MEANING
sailte or hailte	hâlht	salitus	salted
saith or haith	haud		swarm
saith or haith	hûth		thrust
sâv or hâv	hâv		summer
savail or havail	havail	similis	like
skoiltea	holht		cleft
se	e		he
seavak	hebog		hawk
scalv	helva		herd
scalva	helu		possession
scalga	hela		hunting
scalgauc	helliwi		hunterman
sean	hên	senex	old
seasg	hêsg	sedgē and hodge	
seile	halu	saliva	
seôl	hûyl	a sail	
si	hi	she, she	
sin	hyn		this
sith	hedh, and hedhwch		peace
sîl	hîl		seed
sîn	hî		long
somean	himon		fair weather
sûan	hÿn	somnus, ὕπνος,	

Sometimes the H in Welsh is lost, as in

sêgh	ych	ox	
suas	yuch	super, ὑπέρ	
sêlstar	clesty		flag

It would be easy to point out numerous instances of a parallel description, in which words beginning in Greek with the aspirate have in Latin and other languages either S or the F—V.^b The following are examples chiefly from Vossius —

^b Grimm's Deutsche Grammatik, p. 583

1 Aspirate substituted for S.^c

υς,	sus	
ἔρπω,	seipo	
ἄλς,	sal	
ἄλλομαι,	salis	
ἄγιος	sacer	
ἄρπω,	sarpo	
άλις,	satis	
ἐ,	se	
ἐκάς,	secus	
ἔδος,	sedes	
ἥμισυ,	semis	
ἔπεσθαι,	sequi	
εἰρμός,	seimo	Scaliger
ἐρπύλλον,	seipyllum	Servius in Eclog 2
ἔξις,	sexus	Festus
ὁμαλός,	similis	
ἴστω, ἴστημι,	sisto	
ἐκυρὸς,	soci	
ἐκυρὰ,	socius	
ὕλος, ὅλον.	solus	
ὑπαρ,	soroi	
ὑραξ,	sorex	
ἰδρώς, and ἴδωρ,	sudoi	
οὔ,	suu	
ὀλκός,	sulcus	
ὑπὸ	sub	
ὑπέρ,	super	
ἐπτὰ	septem	
ἕξ,	sex	

* Lacones, Argivi, Pamphylu et Eretrienses Σ eximere solent atque aspirationem ejus loco sufficere, ita μουσα us est μῶσα μουσική, μωικά, πᾶσα, πᾶα, Βουσάα, βοῦσά ποιῆσαι, ποιῆαι, etc. Voss vid. Prise I. V. Iluvd, p. 30

ὑπέρβιος,	superbus
ὑπτίος,	supinus
ἐὸς,	suus
ὕλη,	sylva

2. Instances of the rough aspirate substituted for
F or V.¹

ἑσπέρα,	vespera
εἴλω,	volve
Ἑνετὸς,	Venetus
Ἑλία,	{ Velia Serv. ad Æneid
	{ l. 359
ἑστιᾶν,	festum
ὀμιλία,	familia
ἁρμοῦ,	ferme Scaliger
ἔρμα and } εἰρμὸς, }	firmus

In other instances the Greek language seems even to have lost the spiritus asper, and pronounces such words with the gentle aspiration *h*, as in the following

ἄλδος, Douce, πρὸ ἄλσος,	saltus
ἔπω,	sequo, dico
εἴ,	si
ἄνευ,	sine
ἄνῳ, ἄνῳ,	sino
ἄριστερὸς,	sinister
ὀρφέω, γ' ῥοφέω,	sorbeo

In these instances the spiritus lenis stands, where probably the spiritus asper once stood, for an ori-

¹ Chiefly from G. I. Vossius, ubi supra

• Grimm, th. i. p. 587

ginal S. In the following, the digamma was originally the initial letter

ἔαρ,	vei
ἴδμεν,	{ videmus, Sansk vidmus, scimus
ἀλώπηξ,	vulpes
ἰταλός,	vitulus

Perhaps we may trace the effect of a similar disposition to soften and obliterate the initial S in the following words beginning with consonants.

γλάφω,	scalpo
γράφω,	scribo
γλύφω,	sculpo

II representing a hard palatine or guttural consonant in the Teutonic languages.

In the foregoing paragraph it has been shown, that the rough aspirate or II represents in several of the Indo-European languages, a sibilant, or the digamma or *vau*. Thus the Welsh, as well as the Greek language, drops the S or the F entirely, and substitutes the aspirate in words which originally had either S or F for their initial, or which appear to have had one of them, as far as can be judged from the cognate languages while in the Euse the aspirate is still used as a regular inflexion of words properly beginning, and yet often retaining the original S or F. I shall now shew, that in the Latin as well as in the Teutonic languages, II is the sub-

stitute for, or is to be considered as, a radical hard palatine or guttural. It stands for k, g, or ch.

In the following words H in Latin seems to be a substitute for the Greek X^f

hiems,	χειμος
halo,	χαλῶ
hara,	χοῖρος
hesi, olim hesi,	χρῆσι, unde χθῆς
hio, hisco,	χίω, χίσκω
hi,	χείρ
hiundo,	χελιδὼν
hortus,	χόρτος
humi,	χαμαὶ
humilis,	χάμαλός
humor,	χυμός
ucho,	εὐχῶ

In the following instances the Teutonic languages substitute H for a palatine in Greek and Latin words^g

claudus,	halts, halz, halt, (lame)
κύνναβις,	hanpi, hanaf, hemp
caput,	haubith, houbith, haip
καρδία, cor	haerto, he'za, heart
κύων, canis	hunthz, hund, hound
κοῖλος,	hol, hole, ho'low
eclare,	hulan, helm
κάλαμος, calamus,	halam, halm
κάρτος, καρτερός.	hardus, hart
cornu,	haurn, horn
collum,	hals

^f G. I. Vossius, ubi supra

^g The list is taken from Dr. Jacob Grimm's *Deutsche Grammatik*. The Teutonic words are Mæso-Gothic, Old High German, and English.

<i>κρυμός,</i>	hrim, rhyme (old Norse)
<i>κλαίειν,</i>	hlahan (Goth)
<i>κράζειν,</i>	hlahjan (Goth)
<i>ελέπτης,</i>	hleptus (Goth)
lux, (i.e. luks,)	luhad, light, licht
<i>οἶκος,</i>	veihs (Goth), house
taccere,	thahan, dagen
soocer,	sahia (Goth)

In Sanskrit we often find ह *h* corresponding to the Γ in Greek words

māha,	μέγα.
ahan, or ḥhon,	ἑγών.

SECTION V

Of the interchange of dental and sibilant letters

In a variety of languages, either for the sake of euphony, or from caprice or accident, sibilant letters have been interchanged with dentals. The conversion of the Greek sigma into tau is familiar to all classical readers. The use of the double $\tau\tau$ instead of the double $\sigma\sigma$ is said to have been introduced in Athens by Pericles, but it probably pre-existed as a custom somewhere, otherwise it would have been too great an innovation. It was probably a Boeotian habit, for the Boeotians said *συρίττειν* instead of *συρίζειν*, or the Æolian *συρίσσειν*, and *ὀπλίττω* for *ὀπλίζω*. The interchange of $\sigma\sigma$ and ζ for $\tau\tau$ is a well known dialectic variety in the Greek language

The single τ was also put for σ by the Æolians and Dorians, as

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{φατὶ,} \\ \text{δίδωτι,} \\ \text{ἔπετον,} \\ \text{ποτειδᾶν,} \end{array} \right\} \text{ for } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{φασὶ} \\ \text{δίδωσι} \\ \text{ἔπεσον,} \\ \text{ποσειδῶν.} \end{array} \right.$$

The late Attics adopted this custom, and said *τῆμερον, μέταυλος*, for *σήμερον, μέσανυλος*.^a

In the Teutonic languages the frequent use of *s* and *z* in the one class, and of *t* by the other, has always been a characteristic distinction of the idioms which belong to the High and Upper German division, and of those allied to the Platt Deutsch or Lower German dialects. For water in English and Holland-Dutch and Platt-Deutsch, the High-Dutch has *wasser*; for aut, aus, for sweat, *schweiss*, for foot, fuss; for sweet, *suss*, for let, *lass*. This fact is so well known, that it is superfluous to dwell upon it.

SECTION VI

Of the substitution of R for S

The interchange of *s* and *r* is very frequent in many Indo-European languages

Among the Greeks it is said that the Lacedæmonians substituted ρ for σ and probably other Dorians had the same custom. For *ἵππος, ποῦς, θεός, παῖς*, they said *ἱππορ, πῶρ, σῖορ, πόιρ*.^b The interchange

^a Matthiæ's Grammar, ed 1629, p 34

^b Ibid p 33

of $\rho\sigma$ for $\rho\rho$ was much more frequent, it is, at least, more commonly seen in books, $\rho\sigma$ being peculiar to the Attic dialect.

We learn from Quintilian, Varro, and Festus, that the Romans substituted r in a great many words for s , which had been more anciently used. According to the last mentioned writer the ancients wrote majosibus, meliosibus, lasibus, fesus, for majonibus, melionibus, laibus, and ferns.

It has been observed, that r is the most recent form in all these instances, and s the most ancient. In the very oldest specimen of Latinity that is extant, and which has been ascribed to the age of Romulus, viz a hymn of the Fratres Arvales, engraved on a stone which was discovered A.D. 218, are found these words, "Enos Lases juvate," meaning, in all probability, "Nos Lases juvate."¹ It is said, indeed, that the letter r was unknown to the older Latins, who used s instead of it, till the time of Appian Claudius Ureus, who introduced the r .

The following are examples of the substitution of r for s , in which we can trace both forms in the Latin language

assus,	arsus
robui,	robui, unde robustus
honor,	honor
arbor,	arbor

¹ Grimm's Deutsche Grammatik. Bopp's Conjugationssystem der Sanskritsprache.

² Tuzi, Saggio di Ling. Etrusca. t. 1, p. 112. Adlung's Methodus, lib. II. p. 160.

pignora,	pignosa	} Festus
plurima,	plusima	
holera,	helesa	
ara,	asa	
arena,	asena	Vario
carmen,	casmen	
feriæ,	fesiæ	Va
lares,	lases	
exit,	esit	
Aurelii,	Auseli	
Furni,	Furni	Quintilian
Papiri,	Papiri	
Valeii,	Valesii	} Quintilian
labor,	laeos	
clamor,	clamos	
vapor,	vapos	

The same change may be inferred to have taken place in all words which take *i* in the increment instead of *s*, as, *acus*, *pecus*, *foedus*, *pignus*

The Latins substituted *r* for *s* in other words cognate with the Greek as

<i>celer</i>	for	<i>κέλης</i>
<i>κυοι</i>		<i>κρύος</i>

The importance of this observation will hereafter be apparent, when we come to trace the relationship of Latin words with those of other languages. We shall find *i* frequently substituted in the former for an *s* or some equivalent in the Latin, and the resemblance is more decided between such words when

we restore the original s. Thus sororem, perhaps originally sosorem, is almost identified with the Sanskrit swasaram. The same change of letters has an useful application to the inflections of verbs, as we shall have occasion to observe

SECTION VII

Of the relation of different vowels and diphthongs to each other in different languages - Synoptical table of letters interchangeable between different languages

The vowels are by no means to be discarded in tracing the derivations of words and the relations of languages, as some learned philologists have erroneously maintained. If any proof is necessary of this remark, a very striking and sufficient one may be found in Dr Jacob Grimm's analysis of the Teutonic verbs.

The first letter of the Sanskrit alphabet, अ, or the a-kāra, which we generally represent by a, is a short vowel, and, as it has been already observed by Professor Bopp, corresponds in different instances with nearly all the short vowels of the Greek and Latin languages. It is easy to point out many examples in which it occupies the place of the short ē and of the Greek epsilon, and the short ō and omicron, as,

dasan (S)	δέκα, decem
ashta (S)	ὀκτώ, octo.

It corresponds also very frequently with the Latin *i* before *s* or *m* in the terminations of words. The endings of Sanskrit adjectives and nouns are frequently in (अः) or (अस्) for the masculine, (आ) for the feminine, and (अं or अम्) for the neuter. These are most correctly represented by *ah* or *as* or *os*, *ā*, and *am* or *ov*.

Instances may be found in which अ corresponds with other short vowels, but they are not so frequent; as

• ङ्गिस्, ङ्गिस्, *hic*

The Sanskrit आ or long *ā* is most frequently found to occupy the place of *ō* or *ω* in Latin and Greek words, as in

दादामि, *διδωμι*

The other Sanskrit vowels, *i* and *u*, long and short, correspond with those nearly related to them in sounds; viz the long and short *i* or *ιώτα*, and the long and short *u* or *ύψιλον*.

OF DIPHTHONGS

The semivowels य *ya*, and व *va*, or *wa*, and the diphthongs ए *e*, and ऐ *ai*, correspond with the Greek and Latin vowels, thus,

य *ya*, and ए *e*, with *αι* Gr and *ē* Lat

व *wa*, „ ए *ai*, „ *ω* and *ō*

Examples of the former kind occur in the ter-

minations of verbs in the middle and passive voices in Sanskrit and Greek. They are thus

IN SANSKRIT

c,

sc,

te,

IN GREEK

*μαι**αι* and *σαι**ται*

य *ya* is used in Sanskrit where *αι* occurs in Greek and *ē* in Latin, in very many cases. One example occurs in the form of verbs having in Sanskrit a future signification, but used in Greek and Latin with a preterite potential sense. Thus, from the root *Bhū* or *Fuo*, we have

Bhavishyāmi—fuissem	related to	{ <i>σαιμι</i>
—vasi	—es	{ the Greek
—yati	—et	{ form in { <i>αι</i>

व *vā* OR *wā*

swānam (S)

swāsaram,

vāham,

vākshate,

swasaram?

वा *vā* OR *wā*

sonum (L)

socium

vocem

αὔξεται

sororem

I shall conclude the foregoing remarks on substitutions or interchanges of letters in different languages by an attempt at a table of correspondences

SANSKRIT	PERSIAN	RUSSIAN	GRIK	LATIN	WYSH	LR-E	TELTONIC
प p	پ p	п p	π	c, qu p, in the Oscan f	p	k or c	f
भ bh घ dh	ب b د d	В	φ, β θ		bœ v	bœ bh	f
च ch id id ज j	к ch چ ch ج j	ч ch - ж j	τ σσ, ττ ξ, ζ γ	c, qu c x g	p g g	k or c	f th k
श sh id श sh id स s	س s ش sh ه h ه h	С s Ш sh h h	κ, χ κ, ξ κ, χ (') ol f (') ol σ (') ol f	c sœ f s, c v, f s, c v, f	g ch, guttural h h gw cr w	ch h sœ h fœ h sœ h fœ h	h sch, S s h h h

CHAPTER III.

Proofs of common origin in the vocabulary of the Celtic and other Indo-European languages

SECTION I

Names of persons and relations

It is now time to examine how far the Celtic and other Indo-European languages are related to each other in their vocabularies, or by the possession of a considerable number of common roots or primitive words. From the comparison to be instituted for this purpose, it is obviously requisite to exclude all such words as from their nature appear likely to have been introduced at a late period by foreign commerce, by conquest, or with the adoption of a new religion or system of manners. I must confine my observations to the original materials of speech, and to expressions which denote simple and primitive ideas.

On entering on this part of my inquiry, I shall take some of the groups of words collected in the *Amara Cosha*, or Sanskrit Vocabulary of *Amara Sinha*, and try whether the corresponding terms in the Celtic dialects have any resemblance to them.*

* I do not confine myself to the particular vocables given in the *Cosha*, when other genuine words can be found which are more to my purpose, nor do I think it necessary to follow the exact order of arrangement observed by the author of that vocabulary.

In general, I shall place the Sanskrit words first, and then the Celtic, subjoining any terms which appear to be of cognate origin in the other European languages.

Words denoting persons and family or other relations ^b

जनि	JANI (a woman)
Celtic,	GEAN, Eise (Ihuyd)
Russian,	Jena , (и Гѳнн , Pers. Zen, Zenne.
वामा	Vāmā (a woman) (Am. Cosh)
Celtic,	FEM, Eise (Lh)
वामनी	vāmanī (a woman)
Celtic,	femen, Eise (Lh)
Latin,	fœmina
वनिता	vanitā (a woman).
Celtic,	Bean and Bhean or vean, Eise , benw and benyw, Welsh. In regimen venw and venyw
Greek,	<i>Bήνα</i> et <i>Bάνα</i> , Bœotice vel Dorice, est mulier vel filia (Salmasius, p 402, de Hellenistica) <i>Βανήτες</i> , (Bœot pio γυναικες,) mulieres.
वीरः	vīrah, a hero, warrior , vir.
Celtic,	FEAR, Eise , man. Gŵr and WR, Welsh, man , pl. GWYR and WYR, viri Hence, gwraig and wrraig, a woman. Com-

pare WR and WRAIG with VIR and VI-
RAGO or virgo

N B Irag, Erse for gwraig, Germ frau Compare the Greek *ῥῆνος*, *heios*, with *EPAR*

नरः narah, man, also *Lor'id*, applied to the Deity.
Celtic, Nêi, lord.
Greek, ἀνὴρ.

There are three words in the *Amara Cosha* corresponding with the word *father*. These are तात, जनतः and पिता. One of these, janakah, is derived from a root allied to the etymon of genitor in Latin, which will be compared with its cognates hereafter. The other two may be traced as follows.

तातः tātāh, plural tātāh.
Celtic, tād, plu^r tādau, Welsh, tāt, Ar-
 monie, tāt, Corn, taid, a grand-
 father, Welsh

Cognates ata, Mæso-Goth, aita, Cantab

पितृ pītṛ, nom pītā, acc pītānām

Cognates Persian, padar

Gr and Lat πατήρ, πατέρα, pater, patrem

Teut dial vater, fader, father

Celtic, athair, Erse

मातृ mātṛ, nom mātā, acc mātaram

Persian, mādar, Russian, mater

* That the word athair is really of cognate origin with pater, and other European words of the same stock, appears probable from a comparison of the following —

athair	piter	pītṛ (S)
mathair	mater	mātṛ (S)
biathair	biter	bhītṛ (S)

Celtic,	mathair, Erse
Gr. and Lat.	μητήρ, mater.
Teutonic,	moder, mutter, mother, etc.
भ्रातृ	bhrātri, nom भ्राता, bhrātā.

The nearest cognates are—

Russian,	biāt'.
Celtic,	brawd (Welsh, in plu ^r brodyr, compare the Sanskrit plural bhrātaraḥ).
Persian,	biādar
Teutonic,	brothar, (Goth) bruder, brother, etc.
Celtic,	biathair, Erse
Latin,	frater Compare φράτωρ.

स्वसृ *swasri*, a noun of the same form, making in the accusative swasaram, sororem

This word has two sets of cognates, one, in which the sibilants are preserved as such, the other in which they are converted into gutturals, according to the mode of permutation illustrated in chap II, sect III.

Latin, soror, acc sororem, probably soso^r, soso^r-
rem in an older form,¹ is nearly allied to swasūām

~~Some~~ Some languages alter the middle s by adding t; as—

Russian, sestra; Teutonic dialects, suistar (Moeso-Gothic), schwester, sister

Others change s for h, and finally omit it, as—
Celtic, Siur, Erse

¹ Chap II sect VI

Persic, Khwāhar.

Celtic, Chwaer (*i.e.* khwaher), Welsh, chuâr,
Aimor.; hor, huyr, Corn.

The Greek has no similar word.

दुहितृ duhitṛi, nom duhitā, acc. duhitāām
(daughter).

Greek, θυγάτηρ, θυγάτερρα

Pers. dukhtar, Goth. dauhtar, Germ tochter.

Celtic, Dear (dehar ?), Erse

The Latin has no cognate word

स्वशुरः swāsurah, a father-in-law, accus swasuram .

Latin, socer, socerum

Russian, svekor', Goth svairna, Germ schwaher.

Celtic, (converting sibilants as usual into gutturals) Chwegrwn, Welsh, Hungen, Corn

स्वश्रुः swasruh or swasrus, a mother-in-law

Latin, socrus

Celtic, Chwegra, pl. chwegrau, Welsh, hwegci,
Corn .

नप्तृ naptṛi, a grandson, and napti, a granddaughter

Latin, nepos and neptis, meaning also in a later sense, nephew and niece

Celtic, Nai, Welsh, noi, Corn; ni, Aim for nephew; and Nith, Welsh, north, Corn, nises, Aim for niece.

N B pt is mutable into th in Welsh, according to an observation in chap 1, sect 11

देवृ devri, a brother-in-law, or husband's or
 wife's brother

This word has no analogue, as far as I know, in any of the Celtic or Teutonic dialects

Greek, *δαίρ* ; Russian, *diever'* ; Latin, *levn*.

वंशः vansom, offspring

Persic, *bachah* (a child), pl *bachagān*

Celtic, *bachgen*, Welsh.

The preceding words are the principal part of those by which family relations and the distinctions of persons are signified in the Indo-European languages. The greater part of them appear evidently to exist in the Celtic dialects under a peculiar form, which is the guarantee of their genuineness. That the Celtic words are really cognates of the Persian, Russian, Greek, Latin, German, and Sanskrit words no doubt can be entertained.

SECTION II

Names of the principal elements of nature, and of the visible objects of the universe ^a

Light, Flame

ज्वाला Jwālā, also Jwālah

Celtic, *Gwawl*, *golou*, Welsh, *golou*, Arm

The Sun

हेलिः helih, or helis

^a Amar's Cosha, book 1, sect 1 and 11

Celtic, Haul, pronounced hail, Welsh, houl, heul, Corn. ; heol, Arm.

Greek, ἥλιος, *i.e.* haelios, ἥλη, solar heat.

Note The spiritus asper being changed for S in conformity with an observation in sect iv of chap ii we have Saul for haul Compare sol, Lat, in Russ solustě

Another Sanskrit word for sun is सूर्यः sūnuh.

Comp. Sunno, M Goth and Germ sonne, sun.

The Moon

क्लेदाः kledā ; also kledu

Celtic, lheuad, or lhhyad (pronounce nearly as chleuad), Welsh. Also

ग्लीः glauh, which by Sandhi becomes

ग्लीर् glau

Celtic, lhoer (chloer), Welsh, loar, Arm, lân, Corn Compare luan, Erse, with luna, Russ and luna, Latin

Star

तारा tāra

Greek, τεῖρον; Welsh, seien, (pl τεῖρα, Welsh sêr and syr) Armoric. steien, Germ. stern Goth stanno, Pers sitārah, Latin, stella (perhaps a diminutive form of steia, as tenella from tenera) Compare also ἄσπερα, and astra

नभः nabhah, sky, atmosphere, æther, heaven.

Celtic, Nêv. Welsh and Corn, neav, Erse.

Russ. nebo.

नभाः nabhāh, a cloud, rain nabholaya, smoke

- Celtic, Níwyl (mist, cloud,) Welsh, Neal, Ersc.
 Germ. nebel, Gr νεφέλη, νέφας, Lat. nebula, nubes.
 उदम udam, water, whence उन्द् unda, to wet
 or moisten
 Russ. voda, water', Pol. woda.
 Latin, udus, uda, udum, and unda.
 Goth wato, A S. wæter, water. Compare wet,
 weather
 Greek, ὕδωρ, *i e* ὑδωρ, or vudoi.
 Celtic, dwvyr, pl duvrau
 दु dyu (a day)
 Celtic, Di and dia, Eise, dydl, Welsh
 Latin, dies
 Goth. dags, A S. dag, day
 निशा nīśā night
 Celtic, Nôs, Welsh Notch', Russian

More remote are the following

- Nochd, Eise, nahts, Góth, nacht, night, Germ;
 νύξ, nox
 मीरः mīrah, ocean, sea
 Celtic, Môr, Welsh, mur, Eise, More, Russian,
 meer, mere, Germ D, mare, Lat
 धरा dhara, earth.
 Celtic Dair, Welsh. (in regim. dhair.)
 There is another Welsh word, tir Compare
 terra, Lat; antha, Goth, talamh and tellur,
 Eise, with tellurem, Lat.
 आश्र āshtra, ether, air.
 Celtic, athair, Eise.
 Greek, αἰθήρ—αἰθήρ, ἀήρ

Celtic,	awyr, Welsh; aer, Lat.
अग्निः	agnih (fire)
Latin,	Ignis, Welsh, tân, <i>i e</i> taan
Mæso-Goth	fon.
द्रुः	druh (a tree), druakht, Pers,
Δρῦς.	G1, Derw, Welsh, dair, Erse (an oak tree)

SECTION III

Names of animals

Of the terms for different species of animals, it appears that few, comparatively, are common to the Sanskrit and the European languages. Nor is this circumstance difficult of explanation. Emigrating tribes, in seeking a new climate, and leaving behind them a great part of the stock of animals for which they had previously names, are obviously under the necessity of inventing other significant appellations for those peculiar to their new country. In this respect the Celtic dialects are under the same circumstances as the other European languages, and it may be clearly shewn that they partake of a common stock of terms with these languages, for though the European idioms differ from the Sanskrit, they have a common stock of such terms among themselves. There are, however, some instances of agreement with the Sanskrit, and this remark includes nearly all the domestic animals. In all the following instances the Celtic terms are cognate with those

belonging to the other European languages, and in some they bear a remarkable resemblance to the Sanskrit

The interchange of sibilant with guttural consonants is here to be observed, as in the instances before cited Refer to numbers 1, 2, and 3.

Dog

Sanskrit, *Ṣuṇah* and *ṣuṇi*, *ṣuṇī*, bitch

Celtic, *Ki*, pl *eŵn*, Welsh, *chana*, Erse

Greek, *κύων*, pl *κύνες*, Lat *canis*, Goth. *hunnth*,
hound

Hog and Sow

Sanskrit, *Sūkara* (hog); Pers *khūk* (hog or
sow)

Celtic, *Hweh*, Welsh (sow)

Greek, *ῥ*, Lat *sus*.

Horse

Sanskrit, *aswahi*

Latin, (changing sibilants into gutturals) *equus*.

Greek, *ἵππος*, Æol. *ἱκκοῦς* (?)

Celtic, *Each*, Erse, *asp*, Pers, *Also*,

Greek, *Καβάλλης*, Lat. *caballus*

Celtic, *keffyl*, Welsh; *caual*, Arm, *capul*, Erse.
Also, Pers *faras*, Germ. *ross*, Eng. *horse*.

Ass.

Greek, *ἄνος*, Lat *asinus*

Celtic, *Asyn*, Welsh, *asal*, Erse.

Goat.

Sanskrit, *ajah* and *chhaga*, Gr. *αἴγα*

Latin, caper.

Celtic, gavar, Welsh, gobhar, Erse.

Ram.

Sanskrit, Uīanah.

Celtic, Hwrdh, Welsh, ūrdh, Aīm ; hoi and
hordh, Corn

Latin, aries

Oxen.

Sanskrit Ukshan, ox or bull.

Celtic, Yeh, Welsh, agh, Eise, ochs, Ger Also,

Greek, βούς, Lat bos, boves

Celtic, Buw, Welsh, bo, Eise. Also,

Latin, bucula, Welsh, buwel.

Bull.

Greek, ταῦρος, Lat. taurus

Celtic, taiw, Welsh, taibh, Erse (Compare Tör,
Chaldee)

Cow

Sanskrit, Go, Germ kuh, cow

Fish

Greek, ἰχθύς (olim ἰχθύς ?)

Latin, piscis

Celtic, Pÿsg, Welsh, jasg, Erse

Germ fisch, fish

Swan.

Latin, oloi

Celtic, alarch, Welsh, eala, Eise

Pigeon.

Latin, columba, golub', Russian.

Celtic, colommen, Welsh; cwlm, Arm.; colm, columan, Erse.

Frog

Latin, rana.

Celtic, kranag, Coin, ran, Arm.

Fawn.

Greek, ἔλαφος

Latin, hinnulus

Celtic, elam, Welsh

Lamb

Greek, ἀρνός; Latin, agnus

Celtic, oen, W, óan, Coin and Arm, an, Erse

Crane.

Greek, γέρανος, Germ krannich, Eng heron

Celtic, Gaian, W, and kiŷr, Erse, kori.

Cuckow.

Greek, κόκκυξ, Lat cuculus

Celtic, C'óg, W, chuich, Erse

PARAG 2

The following list of terms, chiefly for inanimate objects, display nearly the same degree of affinity as the preceding

			OTHER LANGUAGES
dŕw	dair	δρῦς	{ diuh, Sansk (a tree)
faw, fawydh	faidhbhile	φηγός	fagus, beech
colhen, cólh		κόρυλος	cornel tree
lhyren and lhyriaid	}	λείριον	lilium, lily
lhêch	leac, liag	λίθος	

WELSH	IRISH	GREEK	OTHER LANGUAGES
llaeth	laith	γάλακτα	lac, lactis
aiadyr		ἄροτρον	aratrum
cwŷr	cein oi keir		cern
branch		βραχίων	brachium
llwch	loch		lacus
llu and	}	λαὸς	ludi, Russ
lluaws			
keutar (a nail) (Lh)			
		κέντρον	
enw	ainm	ὄνομα	{ nomen nāman, S
lhûg		aloka, Sansk	lux
mêdh (mead)		μέθυ (wine)	
mel	mil	μέλι	mel
meln	meile	μύλος	mola
dant		ὀδόντα	{ dent-em dantah (Sans)
awr	uair	ᾠρα	hora
au	or		aurum
corn		κέρας	cornu
coion	choiōm		corona
cybhigl	chuvachail		cubiculum
rhyn (point)	srōn	ρῖν	
ysgraff	} ygaffa	σκάφη	scapha
scâff, Arm			
wr, wŷr	fear		vir, viri
wraig	fraŷ		viago
gwrach		γραῦς	
gwin, win	fin	φοῖνος	vinum
arriant	airgidh	ἀργύριον	argentum
tervyn	teor	τέρμα	terminus
einion	incorn	ἄκμων	incus
pen	cean	κεφαλῇ	caput

WELSH	IRISH	GREEK	OTHER LANGUAGES
colovn	colbh		columnus
swm	soin	τόνος	sonus
byw	bio	βίος	vita
halen	salen	ἅλς	sal
cader	chathair	καθέδρα	chair (Eng)
sowdwl	sael	κέλη	{ calcaneus heel (Eng)
croen	croiccionn	χρῶς	
erw		ἄρουρα	arvum
dôr (W and Armor)	} doi us	θύρα	{ thur (Germ) dwara (Sansk)
parth			parte
creuan		κάρηνον	
mynydh			{ monte mountain
fynnon			fonte
avon	amham		amne
tir	tu		terra
	talamh	"	tellus
môi	muni		{ mare, meer (Germ)
cylha		κοιλία	
cyleh		κίρκος	{ circulus, circus
deigryn		δάκρυον	lachryma
eigion		ὠκεανόν	oceanum
hedhwch, pl	}	ἡσυχία	
hedhychau			
peace, quiet			
hwyliau			velæ
meidr		μέτρον	
gwŷr and wŷr	}		{ verum and veritas

WELSH	IRISH	GRÆKA	OTHER LANGUAGES
cariad		χάρις	caritas ~
cawr, a giant		γαῦρος	{ ghorah (Sans) { horrible
	riġh, a king	.	{ rájá (Sansk) { regem (Lat)

SECTION IV

Verbal roots traced in the Celtic and other Indo-European languages

जन्, Jan, a verbal root, whence the verbs जजन्ति, JAJANTI, gignit, and JAYATE meaning γίγνεται, gignitur, he is born, middle voice, jajána, γέγονα. Hence the following nouns in Sanskrit

Janah, a man

Janí, a mother

Janih, birth .

Janitr, a father

Janimā, birth, procreation

In Greek, γεννάω γίνομαι γέννημα, γένος, κ τ λ

Latin, 'gigno, genus, genero, genitor, etc.

Celtic,

1 Welsh, GENI, to be born .

genedig, brought forth, or born

genedigaeth, birth, nativity

geneth, a girl

genid, birth

genih, progeny.

- 2 Erse, GEIN, offspring
geimim, to beget
geinéighim, to bring forth, and
geintear, gignitur.

मृ MRI, a verbal root, whence the verb MRIYATE,
moritur, and the causal verb mārayāmi, MRITAI,
mortuus MARAI, mois

The Greek language wants this word, unless the
termination *μῑρος* be derivable from it, though attri-
buted to another verb

Latin, mori, mortuus, etc

Celtic,

- 1 Welsh, MARW, to die
marw, and 'marwawl, adj dead,
and deadly

2. Erse, marbh, *i e* marv, dead
meath, death, and meatham, to die
Compare Heb. מָת, mēth, dead

Slavonic, Russian

umirat', to die, umeitū, dead

moi', mortality.

जीव Jív, a root whence the verb

JIVĀMI, I live, or JIVATI, vivit

jīva, life (Am Kosh.)

. In Latin, vivo, vita.

Greek, βίος, βίωω.

Celtic,

1. Welsh, BYW, or VYW, verb, to live.
byw, adj vivus
bywyd, vita

bywâu, to vivify.

BEUA (in Cornish), to live Lhuyd.

2. Eise, BEO, to live.

BEATHA, life, vita.

ज्ञा Jnā, a verbal root, whence the verb jñāmi, I know, jñāti, he knoweth, jñātaḥ, jñātā, jñātam, adj. notus, nota, notum

Greek, γνῶω, and γνῶμι, γινώσκω, γινώμη, κ τ λ

Latin, nosco, &c. gnoo, gnotus, &c.

Ger. etc., kennen, know, &c.

Welsh, Gŵn, I know

विद् Vid, a verbal root, whence the verb veda, (οἶδα,) in a preterite form, with a present signification, I know, he knows, veditum, to know, also

vidwān, wise

vidwatā, veda, wisdom.

Greek, εἶδέω, ἴδω, οἶδα ol. εἰδέω, or Ὀεἰδέω

Latin, video

Teutonic, { vide, to know, vidende, knowledge,
Danish
weise, wissen, German
wit, wot, wise, English

Celtic,

1. Welsh, gwydli and wýdli, knowledge
gwydhad and wydhad, to learn
gwydhai, gwydhawl, wise
gwybod (irreg. verb), whence
gwydhost and wydhost, knowest

2. Erse, fis, or fios, knowledge (Lh.)
fisc, a seer, fiosaighim, to
know.

Here the roots are vid, S ; ið or eið, vid. Lat.; vid,
wit, Teutonic, wydh, or gwydh, Welsh

बुध Budh, a root, whence the verb बोधति, he
knows or understands
budhah, a sage

Celtic,

Erse, fODH, knowledge
fodhach, wise

श्रु Sru, a verbal root signifying to hear
Infinitive mood श्रुतुम्
श्रुतः, heard, adj. and part

In Slavonic, changing ł for r

Russian, слух, hearing
слухать, to hear

In Greek, sibilants changed to gutturals (ch 2
sec. 3)

κλύω, to hear

κλύτος, adj

In Celtic,

Welsh, clyw, hearing
clust, an ear. .

Erse, cluinam, I hear
clu, hearing, fame.
cluas, an ear.

κλῶθια, he heard —Lh.

Here the roots in all the above languages are
shru, slu, κλυ, clu

लोच् loch, a verbal root, to which are referred the two following verbs.

1. lochate, he sees ; whence

lochan, an eye.

Greek, λούσσει, he looketh.

English, looketh.

Celtic, lhygad (W.), an eye

2. lochayati, lucet

Latin, lux, luco.

Teutonic, licht, light, etc

Celtic, Welsh,

lhwg, light, lhuched, lightning.

lhwychu, to light

lhygu, to brighten, etc.

दृश् Dris, a verbal root, signifying to see

Prot. dadarsa, I saw

Greek, δέρκαω

δέδορκα

Celtic, Erse, .

DEARC, a verbal root, signifying sight, seeing, also an eye.

dearcam, to see.

dearcadh, seeing, sight.

Welsh,

drem, sight, etc.

Here the roots are dris, or rather dars, δερκ, and Celtic, dearc

लिङ् lih, a verbal root, signifying to lick

1 peison, proper form LIHE, lingor.

Greek, λείγω

Latin, lingo.

Goth laigwan; A. S. liccan.

Eng. lick

Celtic, Welsh

lhyaw, lhyvu, to lick

llyviad, licking

Erse, lighim

do leigh se, he licked

𑂔𑂰 shthā, in inflection 𑂔𑂰, sthā, a verbal root,
whence the verb TISHTHATI, he stands

tishthāmi, I stand

Greek, ἵσταμι or ἵστημι, ἵε σίσταμι, and the ob-
solete στάω

Latin, sto, stare, status, sisto, etc

Teut standan (Goth), stehon, stay, stand.

Celtic, Erse,

sta, stand

stadam, to stand

do stad se, he stood

Welsh, eistedh, to sit.

cistydh, sitting

𑂔𑂰 richh, a verbal root, whence the verb RICH-
CHHATI, he moves towards, reacheth, Rich-
chhāmi

Greek, ὀρέγεται, ὀρεξίς

Latin, porrigit

Teut. rakyān, (Goth) reichen, erreicht, (Germ).
reacheth, (Eng)

Celtic, RIGH, a root in Erse , whence righim, I
reach , richcadh, to stretch, reach, etc.

अस् as, a verbal root, whence the verb substantive,
ASMI, ASI, ASI, sum, es, est , SYĀM, SIM,
or SIEM

Pers AST, he is , hastan, to be

Greek, εἶμι, (ol ἐσμι,) εἶσσι, ἐστί

Latin, esum, es, est

Teut 1st, is, etc.

Celtic, ys (passive form) and ydis.

OES, he is; Welsh

Erse, is, as is me, is tu, i se, I am, thou art,
he is

N B This root is defective in all the above languages, and a
great part of the forms of the verb substantive are supplied from
the following

भू bhū, a verbal root, whence the verb BHAVAMI,
I am , pret. babhūya, fu, babhūvina, fuvimus

Pers BĪDAN, to be , BĪD, he was , existence,
being

pū, he thou

Latin, fuo, fu, fuvimus

Teut. beon, to be, A. Sāx bin, bist, be, etc

Sclav. buif', to be, Russ

Greek, φύω, φύμι, φύει

Celtic, BŪM, BUOST, BU, Welsh , fu, fuisti, fuit.

bŷdh, erit , bōd, esse

Erse, BU mī, I was ; BHITH, to be.

N B Compare Byd, the world, from the same root, with Būd in Persian, and Bhūh, the world, in Sanskrit

अन् an, a verbal root, whence the verb *anyate*, respirat, vivit, and *anmi*, respiro. The first person of *anyate* was perhaps, as the analogy of the other persons, and of the active voice would suggest, originally *anyāme*, instead of *anye* whence

Latin, animus, anima, animatus

Greek, ἀνεμος

Celtic, anaim (Eise), soul, spirit

तन् tan, a verbal root, whence the verb *tanoti*, he extends, stretches

Greek, τείνω, τανύω, τάνυμαι

Latin, tendo

Celtic, TAEN, spreading, extension
taenu, to spread, extend.

दा dā, a verbal root, whence the verb *dādāmi*, I give

Pers. dādan, to give.

Greek, δίδωμι, δόω

Latin, do

Celtic, DAIGH, a root in Erse, whence daighim,
I give

अद् ad, a verbal root, whence the verb *admi*, *atsi*,
ATTI, edo, edis, edit.

Greek, ἔδω

Latin, edo, esu, etc.

Celtic, YSU, or ESU, edere, ysawl, edax,
Welsh.

ITH, a root in Erse, whence ithim, I eat,
ithcadh, eating

युज् yuj, a verbal root, whence are derived several
verbs meaning to join, and other words, as
follows

YUGAM, a couple, YUGAM, a yoke

YUJĀMI, pret. YUYOJA (conjugere, con-
jugare)

yunajmi, pret. yuyoja (jungere) and
yokshyāmi.

Pers. YŪ, a yoke, also yūgh
yūghīdan, to yoke

Greek, ζεύγνυμι ζύγος α τ λ

Latin, jungo, jugum

Russ jgo, a yoke

Teut. joch (Germ), yoke (Eng)

Celtic,

1. Welsh, JAW, a yoke, JEUAW, to yoke

JEUAD, a yoking JEUAETH, a yoked
state

N B The Welsh words are nearer to the Sanskrit and
Persian than to the European languages

2 Erse, euing, or kuing, a yoke.

jeugaff, to yoke or couple. (Armoric.
Lhuyd, p 245)

दश् dans, a verbal root, whence the verbs DA-

SHĀMI and DAKSHYĀMI (moideo), to bite.

Noun, DANT¹, a tooth.

Greek, δάκνω, η ὀδόντα.

Latin, dens, dentes

Celtic,

Welsh, dant, n. aggr the teeth.

dant, pl dannedh

deintaw, verb, to bite

Corn. danta, to bite

The following verbs, or etymons of verbs, are common to the Celtic and some of the other European languages. Where the resemblance is only with the Latin, it may be thought probable that the Britons derived them from the Romans, but when the coincidence is between the Celtic and Greek, or Sanskrit, or other remote branches, the fact will admit of no similar explanation.

dagiu and deigiaw (W)	δακρύω	
and	and	
deigryn (W)	δάκρνον	lachryma
darhunaw	δαρθάνω	
deu, and		
dyvōd (W), to come	δύω and δύνω	
donet (Διμοι)		
dyngu (W)	• διδάσκω	disco et doceo
dylu, and	δεῖ and δοῦλος	
dylyaw, to be obliged (W)		
dyroi (W)	δωρέω	
canu (W.), sing	• cano	{ gānam (Sa) singing, song
canam (Erse)		

iachâu, to heal, from	ιαομαι	
iâch, sano, whole		
cusau, }	κύσω (Greek)	kus and kus
cusanu (W), to kiss }	kussen (Ger)	yami (Sam), amplector
clu (W), to go	ἐλεύθω	
elsynt, they came	ἦλυσαν	
galw (W), to call	καλῖω	call
cleiniaw (W), to lie	κλίνειν	
cleisiaw (W), to bruise	{ κλῖω, κλασω ι t κλάσις	
cudhiaw (W), to hide, }	κεύθω	
kîth and kitha, Cornish }		
curaw, to beat, knock	κρουω	
cynaw, to limit, border	κείρω	
chwareu, to gambol, sport	χαίριω	
balâu, to spring out, and }	βαλλίσθαι	
balaw, noun }	βολή, ἐκβολή	
dalw, to catch	δέλω, ινεσω	
eb, to say, as }	ἔπω, dico	
eb eve, said he }	ἔφη, said he	
elwi, to gain	ἐλcō	
ambylu, to blunt	ἀμβλύνω	{ mlānah (S), languid
ambylus, blunt, adj }	ἀμβλὺς	
degadu	δεκατόω	
eihiaw, to sound from }	ἡχέω, η ἡχος,	
aich, pl eihiaw }	pl ἡχία	
gwlhiaw and wthiaw }	ώθέω	
to thrust }		
lholiaw, to babble	λαλέω	
lhipâu, to droop	ἐλλείπειν	
maclu, to earn wages	μελετάω	
men, a place,	μενέω	

medw, the mind	μηδέω	medito
meru to droop		
merwinaw, to benumb. or deaden	μαραίνω	
tormu, to assemble round	turma	
ystyr and ystyriaw, to consider, note, reflect }	ιστορεω	
caru, to love	carus	
cob, cobio, to strike	κόπτω	
menw, mind	man (S), to know, under- stand }	mens (Lat)
novio (W) }	νέω, no (Lat)	
snav (E) }		
ciedu (W) }	credo	
credeim (E) }		
eliaw (W)	ἀλείφω	
dosparthu	dispartio	

SECTION V

Adjectives, Pronouns, and Particles

Parag 1 ADJECTIVES

आल ālah, ā, m. (ample, vast)

all, alle, whole, Germ

ὅλος, Gr hōll, ōll, Welsh, uile, Eise

उच्च: uchchah, ā m (high)

uch, higher, upper, uchel, uchach. (W)

uchchatā, pride (Sanskrit); uchchiad, soaring (Welsb).

ὄψεῦ, Greek. Compare ὄψηλος and uchel in
Welsh

hoch, high. Germ.

महा and महत्, mahā and mahat, great
Greek, μέγα. Latin, magnus, major
Welsh, mawr. Erse, mòi.
Germ mehr, more, etc

युवन् yuvan

yuvan, Pers.

jau, jeuant, jeuane, Welsh

juvenes, juveneus, Latin.

jung, young, Germ.; yanui, Russian.

जीनः jínah, an old man

scan, Erse; hên, Welsh; senex, Lat.

नव nava (Am. Cosh.).

Greek, νέος; Latin, novus

Germ. neu, new; Russian, novan.

Celtic, newydd, Welsh, nuadh, Erse.

The following are chiefly adjectives common to the
Celtic and the Greek languages.

alh (W)	cile (E)	ἄλλος	alius
cóch		κόκκινος	
cloff		χωλός	claudus
medhws	misgeach	μέθυσος	
melus, sweet	milis	μειλίσσω	
melyn, yellow		μήλινος	
tlawd		τάλας	
caled		χάλεπος	
câr	chara	χαρίεις	carus
trist	tuirseach	τρυσσός	tristis

byr	geal	κυρτός	brevis
eitheí	'	ἐτέροι	cateri
ambylus		ἄμβλυσ	
dilys		δῆλος	
twym		{ θερμός	
		{ θέμερος	
iachâus		ἰήμος	

PARAG 2 PRONOUNS

The personal pronouns must be given in full when we proceed to the inflections of verbs, which are conjugated by means of them. It is only requisite at present to anticipate the remark, of the truth of which the reader will be afterwards convinced, that the personal pronouns in the Celtic dialects consist of the very same elements, and these but slightly modified, which pervade all, or nearly all, the other languages referred to the Indo-European class.

The possessive pronouns are in the Celtic formed, as in other languages, by a modification in the ending of the corresponding personal pronouns.

Thus in Welsh

	PERSONAL PRONOUNS	POSSESSIVES
1 Sing	mi, I,	becomee mau
2 „	ti, thou,	„ tau
3 Sing masc	ev, or Eise se,	„ ei
fem	hi, or Eise si,	„ ei
1 Plur	ni, we,	„ ein
2 „	chwi,	„ eich
3 „	hwy or hwynt }	„ eu

The interrogative pronouns serve to exemplify the remarks made on the interchange of consonants in chapter 1, section 2.

Interrogative Pronoun

In Greek. $\tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ $\tau\acute{\iota}$

N B The existence of the interrogative particles $\pi\acute{\omega}\varsigma$, $\pi\acute{o}\tau\iota$, &c renders it probable that there was an older Greek interrogative pronoun corresponding, as $\pi\acute{\iota}\varsigma$, $\pi\acute{\iota}$

In Latin,	quis	quæ	quid
	qui		
In Erse,	ku		kidh
			kad
In Sanskrit,	kah	kā	kim
In Welsh,	pw		pa

Parag 3 PARTICLES

m—na (Welsh)	$\nu\eta$	na (Sansk)
yna	$\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha$	
wng, yng, near	$\epsilon\gamma\gamma\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$	
agaws, or agos, prep	$\epsilon\gamma\gamma\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$	
cyd, cyda, pron cūda	$\kappa\alpha\tau\grave{\alpha}$	
am, round	$\acute{\alpha}\mu\phi\acute{\iota}$	um in German
heb, without	$\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{o}$	ab, abs
oc, out of	$\acute{\epsilon}\kappa$	ex
trwy		through, durch
yn	$\acute{\epsilon}\nu$	
neu, particle of affirmation	$\nu\alpha\acute{\iota}$	
cyn, with, cum, con (Latin)	$\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu$ (G)	सम्, sam (Sans)
either	$\acute{\alpha}\tau\epsilon\rho$	
di (insep part) di, dis (Latin)	$\delta\acute{\iota}$	

dyre, veni		δεῦρο	
evo	,	ἄμα	
etto		ἔτι	yet
mo, negative	}	{ μὰ	
after m		{ οὐ μὰ	
blaen		πλήν	

CHAPTER IV

Proofs of a common origin derived from the grammatical structure of the Celtic and other Indo-European languages

SECTION I

Review of the preceding facts and inferences—Introductory remarks on the personal inflections of verbs

THE instances which have been pointed out in the last chapter, to which I believe that it would be easy to make great additions, are sufficient to prove that there is an extensive affinity in the component vocabularies of the Celtic dialects and those of the other languages with which they have been compared. The examples of analogy already adduced are by far too numerous and too regular, or in accordance with certain general observations, to be the result of mere chance or accidental coincidence. It must likewise be remarked that they are found in that class of words which are not commonly derived from one language into another. I allude particularly to such terms as denote the most familiar objects and relations, for which no tribe of people is without expressive terms. When such relations as those of father, mother, brother, and sister are expressed by really cognate words, an affinity between the several languages in which these analogies

are found is strongly indicated. The same remark may be made in respect to the names of visible bodies and the elements of nature, such as sun, moon, air, sky, water, earth. Lastly, the inference is confirmed by finding many of the verbal roots of most frequent occurrence, as the verb substantive, and those which express generation, birth, living, dying, knowing, seeing, hearing, and the like, to be common to all these languages.

It may be remarked, that in the Celtic language, as well as in the Persian, and in some German dialects, the Sanskrit and Greek words are represented by terms in a shortened and broken form, which have lost the regularity and beauty of their terminations.⁽¹²⁾ Yet there are several instances in which the Celtic words resemble more nearly their Sanskrit analogues than those belonging to other European languages, as the terms *tâd* and *brawd* for *tāta* and *bhrātā*, meaning father and brother. In many examples the Slavonic dialects and the Persian language display the transition from the form of words peculiar to the Sanskrit to that of the northern European idioms. The root *śru*, meaning to hear, becomes in Russian *slu*, but in Greek and in Celtic *κλυ* and *clyw*, or *clu*. *Aswah*, a horse, becomes *asp* in Persian, and in Erse *each*. *Sūkarah*, a hog, is in Persian *khūk*, and in Welsh *hwch*. In most cases we discover something to confirm the laws of deviation laid down in the preceding chapters, according to which it appears

that words derived by the western from the eastern languages are changed in a peculiar way. The most general of these alterations is the substituting of guttural for sibilant letters, which by the Celtic dialects is made almost uniformly, and very frequently by the Greek and the Teutonic.

There is a still more striking resemblance in the grammatical forms of these languages, which I shall now endeavour to point out.

Professor Murray has attempted to illustrate the grammatical structure of the European languages from a quarter to which few persons would have been inclined to look with any hope of success for the means of its elucidation, I mean the Teutonic idioms, and even some of the modern dialects of the German language. It would really appear that in these idioms some words, affording traces of ancient forms and derivations, have still survived, which can no longer be recognised in the classical languages of India, of Greece, and of Italy. In the following pages it will more evidently appear, if I am not mistaken, that from the Celtic dialects a part of the grammatical inflections—and that a very important part—common to the Sanskrit, the Æolic Greek, the Latin, and the Teutonic languages, is capable of an elucidation which it has never yet received. This can only be accounted for by the remark that the Celtic people have been more tenacious of the peculiarities of their language, as they have been in many respects of their cus-

toms and manners, than the other nations of Europe

The mode of conjugating verbs appears to be essentially the same in all these languages. It consists partly in certain variations indicating time and mood, and partly in the addition of particular endings, by which the differences of number and person are denoted. The former class of variations will be considered in the sequel. At present I shall investigate the nature and origin of the personal terminations, or of those increments or suffixes which the verbal roots receive for the purpose of distinguishing the person and number. It will appear that these are all pronominal suffixes, or abbreviated or otherwise modified pronouns. This has been conjectured and shown to be probable by many philological writers, but the proof has always been defective in several particulars, because this subject has not been surveyed in a sufficiently comprehensive manner, and with attention to all the evidence which can be brought to bear upon it, and especially to that portion which is derivable from a comparison of the Celtic dialects.

In proceeding to this investigation, I shall in the first place show by examples what are the characteristic endings of the different persons of the verb in several languages.

NOTE ON SECTION I

(12) *In the Celtic language words are represented by terms in a shortened and broken form, which have lost the regularity of their*

terminations —This assumes that the inflections of the present language are non-existent, because they have been lost. But what if they have never been developed? A fuller exposition of the exception here suggested is to be found in the notes (by the present editor) upon Dr Young's article on Language in the last edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

SECTION II

Personal endings of the Sanskrit verbs

One system of personal terminations belongs to all Sanskrit verbs, and the differences of conjugation which are distinguished by grammarians, consist in the changes which the verbal roots undergo. The following is an example displaying the terminations of the present tense as they are subjoined to the verbal root *tud*, to strike, in Latin *tundo*

	1 Person	2 Person	3 Person
Singular,	Tudāmi	Tudasi	Tudati
Dual,	Tudāvā	Tudathas	Tudatas
Plural,	Tudāmas	Tudatha	Tudanti

This verb belongs to those classes of roots which insert a vowel *a* between the theme and the personal endings. Others subjoin these endings immediately. The personal endings alone are as follows —

	1 Person	2 Person	3 Person
Sing	-mi	-si	ti
Dual,	-vas	-thas	-tas
Plur	-mas	-tha	-anti

The same terminations belong to the future tenses as to the present; but those tenses which have the augment prefixed to the verb have the personal endings, as in Greek, in a more contracted form. The following is the first preterite of the verb tudāmi, corresponding closely to the Greek imperfect.^a

Præteritum augmentatum 1.

	1 Person	2 Person	3 Person
Sing	Atudam	Atudas	Atudat
Dual,	Atudāva	Atudatam	Atudatām
Plur	Atudāma	Atudata	Atudan

The abbreviated personal endings in Sanskrit verbs are as follows

Sing	-am	-s	-t
Dual,	-va	-tam	-tām
Plur	-ma	-ta	-an ^b

There is another form of the indicative tenses in the parasmaipada, or active voice, which it may be right here to exhibit. It is that of the reduplicated preterite, formed by rules nearly the same as those of the preterperfect in Greek verbs. The præteritum reduplicatum of the verb tud or tudāmi is as follows

	1 Person	2 Person	3 Person
Sing	Tutoda ^c	Tutoditha	Tutoda
Dual,	Tutudiva	Tutudathus	Tutudatus
Plur	Tutudīma	Tutuda	Tutudus

^a I represent the augment अ by an *a* in following Sir W Jones's orthography, but it might perhaps as correctly be represented by the Greek *ε*

^b Bopp, Gram Crit Sansk, p 144

In Latin, tutudi

N B It may be observed that the vowel of the root, *u*, is changed into *o* in this instance by the form termed *guna*, of the influence of which we trace the result in the Greek reduplicate preterite of the old form, commonly termed the preterperfect of the middle voice. We shall observe likewise the influence of *guna* to be very extensive in the inflections of verbs in the different European languages.

SECTION III

Terminations characteristic of the persons of the Greek verb

Of the two principal forms of inflection by which Greek verbs are conjugated, one, viz that of verbs in *μι*, corresponds nearly with the Sanskrit. There are strong reasons for believing this to be an ancient and perhaps the original method of conjugating verbs used in the Greek language,^a independently of the circumstance that it so nearly resembles the forms of the Sanskrit. "This conjugation comprises the verb substantive and a great many old and very anomalous and defective verbs, and those of very common and familiar occurrence."^b The conjugations of verbs in *ω* are so much more regular, that they bear the appearance of a designed and systematic scheme introduced for the sake of simplifying the inflections of the language. The Domic form of the verbs in *μι* will probably serve to exemplify

^a Matthiæ, indeed, seems inclined to believe that there was a still older form of Greek verbs than those now extant, and that the termination was in *ω*.

^b As φημι, εἰμι, ἵημι, ἤμαι, &c.

the personal endings as they existed in the earliest state of the Greek language of which we can obtain any knowledge. The following is the Doric form of the verb ἵστημι in the present tense

	1 Person	2 Person	3 Person
Sing	ἵσταμι	ἵστας	ἵστατι
Dual,		ἵστατον	ἵστατον
Plu	ἵσταμεν		ἵσταντι

The irregular and defective verbs often display the primitive verbal forms of a language better than those which are regular, and of the former the verb substantive, which is anomalous in many languages, may be considered as the most ancient. The following is the present tense of the verb substantive in its oldest forms

	Singular	Old form
1 εἰμι,	Doric form ἐμμι, originally (ν)	ἐσμι
2 εἷς,	in Homer, Pindar, Theocritus,	ἐσσι
3 ἐστί		ἐστί
	Dual	
1 —		
2 ἐστόν		ἐστόν
3 ἐστόν		ἐστόν
	Plural	
1 ἐσμεν,	Doric εἰμέες, originally (ν)	ἐσμέες
2 ἐστέ		ἐστέ
3 εἰσι	Doric	ἐντι

It seems, from this statement, that the following are the personal endings of the verb substantive in the present tense, subjoined immediately to the verbal root

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1	-μι	-----	-μες
2	-σσι	-τον	-τε
3	-τι	-τον	-ντι

These will be seen on comparison to be nearly identical with the endings of Sanskrit verbs. A like analogy may be traced by comparing the abbreviated form of the augmented preterite with the Greek preterimperfect and the preter reduplicate with the Greek preterperfect; but as it is not my principal aim to trace the analogies of the Sanskrit and Greek languages, I shall say nothing further on this subject

SECTION IV

Personal endings in Latin verbs

It is probable that the first person of the present tense in the indicative mood of Latin verbs terminated originally, in *m* instead of *o*. This results from a comparison of the endings of the other persons in the various tenses of the indicative mood, and from the analogy afforded by the first person in the subjunctive mood. The supposition is confirmed by the actual existence of old and anomalous forms, *sum* or *esum*, and *inquam*, where the termination in *m* is still extant.

The personal endings in Latin verbs, exclusive of the imperative mood, may be comprised in the following forms

Singular			
1	-am	-em	-im
2	-is	-es	-is
3	-at	-et	-it
Plural			
1	-amus	-emus	-imus
2.	-atis	-etis	-itis
3	-ant	-ent	-unt, int

SECTION V

Terminations which distinguish the persons of verbs in the Teutonic dialects

A new and very important light has been thrown on the structure and history of the Teutonic languages by the researches of Professor Jacob Grimm. I shall endeavour to abstract in a short compass some of the results of his inquiries which relate to the inflections of verbs in the oldest of these languages, as being closely connected with the subject now under consideration.

The verbs are divided in all the Teutonic dialects into two classes, chiefly distinguished from each other by the manner in which they form the past tense and participle. These different modes of inflection are termed by Dr. Grimm respectively the strong and weak conjugations ⁽¹⁾ The former is supposed by that writer to be more ancient than the other, and to be in fact the genuine and primitive method by which the German nations distinguished

the times and modes of action and of passion in the use of verbs. In this first method a great proportion of the original and peculiar roots of the Teutonic dialects were conjugated, but its use has given way in a great degree to a different scheme of inflection, which of late has become prevalent, as being more in harmony with the genius of modern language. The latter is supposed to be more recent in its origin, and it comprises, besides many primitive German roots, all foreign words which have been adopted into the vocabulary of the Teutonic nations. The English reader will have an idea of the strongly and weakly inflected conjugations by observing that all those verbs belong to the former which make the past tense and participle by changing the vowel of the monosyllabic root, as *speak, spake, spoken*, while the inflection of *praise, praised, praising*, exemplifies the weak conjugation. In the *Mæso-Gothic*, which preserves the oldest forms of the Teutonic languages, there is, in addition to the change of vowel which characterises the past tense, a reduplication of a part of the root.* There are twelve forms belonging to the strongly inflected verbs, and three or four of the other class. As the characteristic part of the verbs of each conjugation Dr. Grimm has given the indicative mood, present tense, first person singular, the first person

* This was observed by HICKES. See his *Mæso-Gothic Grammar* in *Thesaur. Ling.* Sept., tom. i.

singular and plural of the past tense, and the participle and infinitive mood.

As the subject of the present chapter is the characteristic endings of persons and numbers, I should not have touched upon anything which relates to the formation of tenses and moods, until I come to the proper place for that inquiry, had it not been for the circumstance that the personal endings themselves are different in the several modes of conjugation. As I wish to include the endings belonging to both systems, I found it necessary to explain, in the first place, the principle by which they are distinguished from each other. I shall now extract a table of the terminations belonging to each form as laid down by Dr Gimm, beginning with the Mæso-Gothic verbs

1. Strongly inflected conjugation of Mæso-Gothic verbs

The following verbs will afford a specimen of this inflection, and display in an interesting manner some of the oldest forms belonging to our own language or that of our Teutonic ancestors

- “ 1 Slêpa, I sleep, saizlêp, I slept, saizlêpum, we slept; participle, slêpans
- “ 2 Lâia, I laugh, lailô, laughed, lailôum, lâians.
- 3 Svâra, I swear, svôr, I swore, svôrum, svaiâns.

In this instance, and in the six last of the strongly inflected conjugations, the verb merely changes the radical vowel, and has no reduplication.

Paradigm of the personal endings of verbs of the strongly inflected conjugations:

			1 Person	2 Person	3 Person
Indic	Pres	Sing	-a	-is	-ith
		Dual	-ôs	-ats	—
		Plur	-am	-ith	-and
	Pret	Sing		-t	
		Dual	-u (ʳ)	-uts	—
		Plur	-um	-uth	-un
Subjunct	Pres	Sing	-áu	-áis	-ái
		Dual	-áiva (ʳ)	-áits	—
		Plur	-ámma	-áith	áma
	Pret	Sing	-jau	-eis	-ei
		Dual	-eiva	-eits	—
		Plur	-emma	-eith	-eua
Imperative		Sing	—		—
		Dual	—	-ats	—
		Plur	-am	-ith	—

Infinitive -an, Particip pres -ands, Particip pret -ans

N B —The mark () indicates that no additional ending is subjoined to the verb, and the mark (—) that the form for which it stands is wanting

The following paradigm illustrates the weakly inflected conjugation, of which the verb *sôkjan* may serve as an example, *sôkjan* or *sôkyan* is *suchen*, to seek; *sôkja*, I seek, *sôkida*, I sought, *sôkjands* in the participle

			1 Person	2 Person	3 Person
Indicat mood	} Pres	T Sing	(vowel)	-s	-th
		Dual	-ôs	-ts	
		Plur	-m	-th	-nd

				1 Person	2 Person	3 Person
Subjunct mood	Pret	T	Sing.	-da	-des	-da
			Dual	—	-dêduts	—
			Plur	-dêdum	-dêduth	-dêdun
	Pres	T	Sing	(vowel)	-s	(vowel)
			Dual	—	-s	—
			Plur	-ma	-th	-na
Imperat mood	Pret	T	Sing	-dêdján	-dêdcis	-dêdi
			Dual	—	-dêdêits	-dêdema
			Sing	—	(vowel)	—
			Dual	—	-ts	—
Infinitive mood			Plur	-m	-th	—
				-n		
Participle present,				,	-nds	
Participle past,					-ths	

Next to the Mæso-Gothic, Dr GIMM has ranked in the affiliation of Teutonic languages the Old High German, the characteristics of which approach most nearly to those of the Gothic forms. Under this denomination of *Alt-hoch-deutsch* or Old High German, it must be observed that the remains of several dialects are comprised, which were nearly allied, but yet probably differed from each other in peculiarities now scarcely to be ascertained. Among these were the idioms of the Franks, Bavarians, and Allemanni, and perhaps of other tribes between the seventh and eleventh centuries, of which specimens are preserved in the remains of Kero and Notker, and in the extant works of Otffried. From these, and from some other relics of the period above

mentioned, this ancient form of the High German language has been made up and restored by the accurate researches of Dr Grimm.

Forms of the verb in the Old High German.

Forms of the strongly inflected conjugation

			1 Person	2 Person	3 Person
Indicat mood	}	Pres T Sing	-u	-is	-it
		Plur	-amêſ	-at	-ant
	Pret T Sing		-i		
Subjunct mood	}	Plur	-umêſ	-ut	-un
		Pies T Sing	-e	-êſ	-e
	Plur	-êmêſ	-êt	-en	
	Pret T Sing	-i	-is	-i	
	Plur	-îmêſ	-ît	-în	
	Imperative Sing		_____		_____
Plur		_____	-at	_____	
Infinitive -an		Part pres -antêi	Part preter -anêr		

As an example of this conjugation we may take the following

Slâfu, I sleep
 Sliaf, I slept
 Sliafunêſ, we slept
 Slâfanêi, having slept

Paradigm of the weakly inflected verb of the Old High German.

			1 Person	2 Person	3 Person
Indicat mood	Pres	T Sing	-u (-m)	-s	-t
		Plur	-mêſ	-t	-nt

			1 Person	2 Person	3 Person
Subjunct mood	Pret	T Sing	-ta	-tôs	-ta
		Plur	-tumêš	-tut	-tun
	Pres	T Sing	(vowel)	-s	(vowel)
		Plur	-mêš	-t	-n
	Pret	T Sing	-ti	-tiš	-ti
		Plur	-tîmêš	-tît	-tîn
	Imper	Sing	—	(vowel)	—
		Plur	—	-t	—
Infinitive -n			Part pres	-ntêi, -têi	

Dr Grimm has added an analysis of the grammatical forms in the other dialects belonging to the Teutonic family of languages, viz the Old Saxon, the Anglo-Saxon, the Old Frisian, the Old Norse or northern dialect of the Voluspa and the Edda, the Middle High German, the Middle Netherlandish, the modern High German, the modern Netherland dialect, the modern English, the Swedish, and the Danish. The comparison of these varying forms of one original speech is extremely interesting to the philologist, and indispensable to those who wish to be thoroughly and fundamentally acquainted with the relations of our own mother tongue, but it would be foreign to my present design to pursue this subject further. I shall here add merely an outline of the personal endings of the Gothic and Old High German verbs in comparison with each other, confining myself to the present tense.

Personal endings of the Mæso-Gothic and Old High German verbs in the present tense.

- 1st Pers Sing a vowel (often -a or -u, or -ôm, or êm
 2d Pers Sing -is, -ês, -os
 3d Pers Sing -ith, -it, -êt, -ot
 1st Pers Plur -m, -am, -ames, -emes, -omes, etc
 2d Pers Plur -ith, -it, -et, -ôt
 3d Pers Plur -nd, -and, -ant, -ent, -ont

Examples of these terminations which so much resemble the classical languages, and which are now lost to so great a degree in the Germanic dialects, occur in the following verses of a translation of that magnificent hymn of the ancient church, the Te Deum, which I copy from Hicks's *Thesaurus*

- | | | |
|---|-----------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1 | Tluh Cot lopemes, | Te Deum laudamus, |
| | Thih Trutinan gehemes, | Te Dominum confitemur, |
| | Thih cuugan Fater, | Te æternum Patrem, |
| | Eoknuclih eida uundit • | Omnis terra veneratur |
| 2 | Thu alle engla, thir humla, | Tibi omnes angeli, tibi coeli, |
| | Inti allo kumaltido, | Et universe potestates, |
| | Thir Cherubim inti Seraphim | Tibi Cherubim et Seraphim |
| | Unbilibanhcleru stimmo for- | Incessabili voce proclamant, |
| | raharent, | |
| 3 | Uuhei, uuhei, uuhei, | Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus, |
| | Truhtin Cot herro, | Dominus Deus Sabaoth |
| | Follu sint humla inti eida | Pleni sunt cœli et terra |
| | Thera meginchliti tuudi | Majestatis gloriæ tue |
| | thunra | |

NOTE ON SECTION V

(13) *Strong and weak conjugations*—Exceptions to the doctrine that gives two conjugations to one and the same tense, are to be found in the editor's *English Language*, part iv, chap xxxix (fourth edition)

SECTION VI

Personal endings of verbs in the Slavonian dialects and in the Persian language

As the Slavonian dialects constitute one important branch of the European languages, they must not be entirely passed over in a treatise, the object of which is to point out and illustrate the relations of these idioms to each other. I shall, however, confine myself to one dialect belonging to this division, and on this I shall touch but briefly. The following examples will afford my readers a specimen of the inflection of verbs in the Russian language, so far as the personal endings are concerned, and they will be sufficient to show that these terminations belong to the generally prevailing system which we have traced in other languages.

The Russian verbs are complicated in other respects, but their personal terminations present very little variety. In several tenses these endings are entirely wanting, and the personal pronouns alone distinguish the modifications of meaning, but the present tense has a perfect inflection. The following is the present tense of the verb *stoyu*, I stand.*

Singular		Plural	
1	ya stoyu	mi	stoin
2	ti stoish	vi	stoite
3	on' stoit	oni	stoyat

* *Flemens de la Langue Russe*, par M. Charpentier. Petersb. 1768, p. 118

The following paradigm of the terminations of Russian verbs in the two forms which differ most widely from each other is given by Professor Vater in his excellent Russian Grammar

First Form	Fifth Form
Singular	Singular
1 -yu	1 -u
2 -esh	2 -ish
3 -et	3 -it
Plural	Plural
1 -em	1 -im
2 -ete	2 -ite
3 -yut	3 -yat "

The Persian verbs display the same general analogy, their terminations are even more nearly allied to those of the Teutonic verbs than the Sclavonian. Of this the reader will judge from the present tense of the verb substantive, which is regarded as a model for the variations of the persons in all tenses.

Sing	1 -am	2 -ī	3 -ast
Plur	1 -im	2 -id	3 -and

The following is the preterite of the verb *būdan*, and may serve as an example of past tenses in general

Sing	1 būdam	2 būdi	3 būd
Plur	1 būdīm	2 būdīd	3 būdand

* Dr Johann Severin Vater's *Praktische Grammatik der Russischen Sprache*, p 88

SECTION VII

Terminations characterising the persons and numbers of verbs in the Celtic languages

I now proceed to the personal endings of verbs in the Celtic language, and as they appear to have been preserved in a more complete state in the Welsh than in any other dialect of this language, I shall take the Welsh verbs at present as my principal subject. In the sequel, the formations peculiar to the Euse will be examined, and compared with those belonging to other idioms.

It has been observed, that the Teutonic verbs have only one form for the future and the present tense. The same remark applies to the Welsh, for the Welsh language, except in the instance of the verb substantive, which has two distinct forms, one for the present and the other for the future tense, has only one modification of the verb, which is used to represent both. In the German dialects the single form above referred to is properly a present tense, but the Welsh grammarians consider that their language has only a future, and say that the future is put for the present. It is, however, used as such in cases where no license of expression or trope can have place, as in the Creed "Credav yn Nuw Dâd," Credo in Deum Patrem.

The Welsh verbs present a considerable variety

in their terminations, as the following examples will show.

First Form, Future Tense, of the verb *caru*, to love

Singular	Plural
1. <i>carav</i>	<i>carwn</i>
2. <i>ceir, i e ken</i>	<i>ceirwch</i>
3. <i>câi</i>	<i>carant</i>

It must be noticed that the third person of the future tense is the root of the verb. The endings of the other persons are pronominal suffixes, as we shall clearly perceive in the sequel. The termination of the first person in *av* is equivalent to *amh*, or the *v* to a soft *m*.* In the present tense of verbs in the Eise dialect the corresponding termination is always *aum* or *im*.

Second Form, Preterperfect Tense^a

Singular	Plural
1. <i>ceais</i>	<i>ceiasom</i>
2. <i>ceiaist</i>	<i>ceiasoch</i>
3. <i>ceiodh</i>	<i>ceiasant</i>

Third Form, Preterpluperfect Tense

Singular	Plural
1. <i>carwn</i>	<i>carwm</i>
2. <i>carit</i>	<i>carwch</i>
3. <i>carai</i>	<i>carant</i>

* It may be worth while to add the same tense of the verb substantive, as it displays somewhat more strikingly the affinity of the Celtic to other European inflections

1. <i>bûm</i>	<i>fui</i>	<i>buom</i>	<i>fuius</i>
2. <i>buost</i>	<i>fuiſt</i>	<i>buoch</i>	<i>fuiſtis</i>
3. <i>bu</i>	<i>fuit</i>	<i>buont</i>	<i>fuerunt</i>

The preterpluperfect *caiaswn* changes its endings exactly as the foregoing.

There are some other varieties, an account of which will be given in a following chapter. It is only my object at present to deduce a general principle.

The following are the terminations I begin with the plural, as presenting more regularity.

Plural Terminations

1st Form	2d Form	3rd Form	4th Form
1 -wn	-om	-em	-ym
2 -wch	-och	-ech	-ych
3 -ant	-ant	-ent	-ynt

The fourth column contains a modification used by the poets

The terminations proper to the singular number are as follows

1st Form	2d Form	3d Form
1. -av	-ais	-wn
2 -i	-aisi	-it
3 no addition } to the root }	-odh ^b	-ai

It will be observed at once that there is sufficient resemblance between these inflections and those of other Indo-European languages to connect them indubitably with that class. This is particularly manifest in the plural endings. There are some apparent anomalies, but these will be explained in the sequel, and will be found illustrative of the general result to be deduced

^b Note, *dh*, commonly written *dd*, is pronounced as *th* in other

CHAPTER V

Of the personal pronouns in the Indo-European languages and of the derivation of the personal terminations of verbs

SECTION I

Personal pronoun of the first person

HAVING examined in the preceding chapter the systems of terminations which characterise the persons of verbs, I now proceed to compare with them the personal pronouns still extant in the same languages, and to show that the endings of verbs which distinguish the persons and numbers are supplied by abbreviated forms of those pronouns subjoined to the verbal roots. In what degrees the pronouns belonging to each language have contributed to the formation of these endings or suffixes will appear in the course of the following investigation

Personal pronoun of the first person in the Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, Russian, Maso-Gothic, and Old High German languages

SINGULAR.

Nominative

अहम् aham; ἐγὼν, ἐγὼ, ἰαγα, ἰαυγα; ego; ya, Russ., ik, Goth.; ih, O. H. Germ.

Genitive

मम mama and मे me; μέθεν, ἐμέο, μου, mei,

menya, Russ , meina, Goth ; mîn, Old High German.

Dative.

मह्यम् mahyam and मे me, ἐμιν, ἐμοι, μοί, mihi, mne, Russ , mis, Goth., nu, Old H. German.

Accusative.

माम् mām and मा mā, ἐμὲ μὲ ἐμίν, me, menya, Russ ; mik, Goth , mih, O H German

Ablative

मत् mat, ἀπ ἐμοῦ, a, me, etc

Instrumental

मया mayā, me, Lat., mnoia and mnoï, Russ.

Locative

मयि mayi, in me

Prepositive

mné, Russ

Dr u.

Nominative

आवाम् āvām, ἄμμε, νῶι, νῶ, vit, Goth , wiz (?) O H Germ

Genitive.

आवयोस् āvayos and नौ nau; νῶιν, νῶν, ugkara, Goth , unchar, O H Germ.

Dative

आवाभ्याम् āvābhyām and नौ nau, νῶιν, νῶν, ugkis, Goth , unch, O H. Germ

Accusative

आवाम् avām and नौ nau; ἄμμε, νῶι, νῶ; ugkis, Goth ; unch, O H Germ

Ablative and Instrumental.

आवाभ्याम् āvābhyām

Locative.

आवयोस् āvayos.

PLURAL

Nominative

वयम् vayam, ἄμες, 2^e vames, ἡμέες, ἡμεῖς, nos, mi,
Russ., veis, Goth , wīn, O. II. Germ.

Genitive.

अस्माकम् asmākam, ἰμῶν, ἡμῶν, nas, Russ., unsara,
Goth., unsar, O. II. Germ , ou.

Dative

अस्माभ्याम् asmābhyam and नस् nas, ἰμῶν, ἡμῶν, nobis,
name, Russ , unsis, Goth , uns, O. II. Germ

Accusative

अस्मान् asmān and नस् nas, ἄμμεας ἡμέας, nos , nas,
Russ , unsis (uns), Goth , unsih, Old II
Germ.

Ablative

अस्मात् asmat, ἀφ' ἡμῶν, à nobis

Instrumental

अस्माभिस् asmābhis, nobis, nami, Russ.

Locative

अस्मासु asmāsu, in nobis

Præpositive

nas, Russ

Note An attentive examination will enable the reader to ascertain, that, notwithstanding the great variety of these pronouns and their inflections, a few common elements are the

foundation of them all. A satisfactory analysis of the Sanskrit pronoun has been given us by Professor Bopp, who has dissected the elements which enter into its declension with his usual ingenuity and discernment. His object is the Sanskrit pronoun, but his remarks may tend to elucidate the corresponding forms in all the cognate languages. He observes that the Sanskrit *aham*, *ego*, which is quite unconnected with its oblique cases, consists of two elements, viz **अह**, *ah* and **अम**, *am*, the latter is a mere termination, occurring as such in other pronouns. *ah* is the root. Compare it with *ih*, *ik*, *ek*, *ego*, *h* being considered as a guttural consonant. The oblique cases in the Sanskrit pronoun are derived from two similar roots **म** *ma* and **मे** *me*, which, however, have no existence as distinct words in the Sanskrit language. We may observe that from a root allied to the last, the oblique cases in the European languages are formed. This root is not to be found as an independent word, or as a nominative case in any of those idioms of which the pronouns have been hitherto compared. We shall discover it in the Celtic.

The plural nominative is **वे** *vi*, prefixed to the above-mentioned termination *am*. The plural oblique cases come from an etymon common to all these languages, but not existing in any of them as a distinct word. From it we derive the Russian *nas*, and *oui* and *nos* in Greek and Latin. We shall find this etymon to be the Celtic nominative plural. *Asmān* and *ἄσμε* (originally *ἄσμε*, as also *ῥῦμε* was *ῥσμε* ?) contain an epenthesis of *sma*.

M. Bopp supposes the endings of the cases to have been formed by involved prepositions, as *asmān*, *nobis*, from the Sanskrit preposition *abhi*, added to the elements of the word. The same termination is to be traced in the Latin *nobis*, and perhaps in the Greek *ἡμῶν*, which may have been originally *ἡμῶν* or *ἄμῶν*. On this subject M. Bopp refers to a dissertation of his own on the origin of cases, in the *Abhandlungen der Historisch-Philologischen Klasse der K. Akad. der Wissenschaften* (viz. at Berlin), ann. 1826.

SECTION II

Pronoun of the second person

SINGULAR

Nominative

त्वम् twam, τὸ, σὺ, τύγα, tu, tu, Russ, thu, M.
Goth, dâ, O II Germ

Genitive

तव tava or ते te, τέο, τεῦς, σέο, etc, tui, tebyà,
Russ, theina, Goth, din, O II Germ

Dative

तुभ्यम् tubhyam and ते te, τῷ, τῇ, σοί, tibi, tebé,
Russ, thus, Goth, du, O II Germ

Accusative

त्वाम् twām and त्वा twā, τὸ, σέ, te, tebya, Russ,
thuk, Goth, dih, O II Germ

Ablative

त्वत् twat, a te

Instrumental

त्वया twayā, te, toboyu, toboi, Russ

Locative

तत्र त्वयि

Prepositive

तेbé, Russ

DUAL

Nominative

युवाम् yuvām, ὑμμε, σφῶι, σφῶ, yut (?), Goth, yiz,
iz (?), O. II. Germ

Genitive

युवयोस् yuvayos and वाम् vām, igqvara, Goth., in-
char, O. II Germ

Dative.

युवाभ्यम् yuvābhyam and वाम् vām; ὑμμε, κ τ λ
igqvis, Goth., ineh, O II. Germ.

Accusative

Sanskrit and Greek the same as the nom, Gothic
and Old High German the same as the dative

Ablative and Instrumental

युवाभ्यम् yuvābhyam

Locative

युवयोस् yuvayos

PLURAL

Nominative

युयम् yuyam, ὑμεις, ὑμε, κ τ λ, vos, vu, Russ,
yus, Goth, in, O II German

Genitive

युष्माकम् yushmākaṁ and वस् vas, ὑμέων ὑμων,
vostium, vestium, vas, Russ, izvara, Goth,
iwal, O II Germ

Dative

युष्मभ्यम् yushmabhyam, वस् vas, ὑμῖν, vobis, vami,
Russ., izvis, Goth., in, O. II Germ.

Accusative

युष्मान् yushmān, वस् vas, ὑμέας, ὑμᾶς, vos, vas,
Russ., izvis, Goth, iwal, O II. Germ.

Ablative.

युष्मत् yushmat, a vobis

Instrumental

युष्माभिस yushmābhis, vobis, vamu, Russ

Locative

युष्मासु yushmāsu

Prepositive

vas, Russ.

- *Note* The pronouns of the second person are susceptible of an analysis similar to that of the preceding, as may be seen by the reader of Bopp's critical observations on these pronouns in his Sanskrit Grammar. The cases of the singular number are formed from the elements तु tu, (is nominative twam), and त्व twi, or त्वे tve. The dual cases are formed from युव yuva, and agree in terminations with those of the pronoun of the first person. The plural cases are formed from यु yu, and from वस vas, or vos.

SECTION III

Pronouns of the third person

THE pronouns of the third person are still more varied and numerous in their inflections than the preceding. The personal pronouns of the third person, which are properly so termed, and chiefly in use as such, appear to have little or no relation either to the corresponding personal pronoun in Sanskrit, or to the personal endings of verbs. But there are some other words in these languages, which, though chiefly used as demonstrative pronouns or definite articles, appear to have been originally personal pronouns. For example, the definite article in Greek was used, as Matthiæ has observed,

for *οὗτος*, and was in fact a pronoun. It bears also in its forms a near analogy to the Sanskrit personal pronoun. The Gothic demonstrative pronoun or article *sa*, *so*, *thata* is closely allied to both of these, and all the three were apparently the same word very slightly modified. The Latin pronoun approaching most nearly to these is *is* *ie*. I shall collate the forms of all of them, that the reader may perceive their affinities. It must be observed, that the chief reason for selecting these rather than any other pronouns of the third person is the circumstance, that the verbal endings of the third person which have been traced in the preceding chapter are perhaps formed by suffixes, or abbreviations of them, and are quite unconnected with those personal pronouns, which in the actual state of the respective languages are more regularly used as such.

Matthiæ has conjectured that the primitive form of what is called the definite article in Greek was *τὸς*, *τῇ*, *τὸ*, but the analogy of permutations indicates the aspirate to have taken place rather of a sibilant than of a dental, and it is probable that *σὸς*, *σῇ*, *σὸ*, was the form which preceded the present one. Yet the sigma is peculiar to the masculine and feminine nominative, and the real etymon of the pronoun must have been in Greek similar to the root which exists in Sanskrit and the other cognate languages. *तत्* *tat*, is the nominal root, as given by grammarians, but the real etymon, as Professor Bopp has observed, must have been *त* *ta*; and *त* *ta*, *τὸ*, *te*,

and *tha* seem to have been the roots in the Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, and Teutonic languages. *Iste* is probably a compound word formed of *is* the personal pronoun and an old demonstrative, strikingly analogous to the Sanskrit personal pronoun.

SINGULAR

Nominative

	MASCULINE	FEMININE	NEUTER
Sansk	(सस् <i>saś</i> , <i>oi</i> स <i>saḥ</i>)	सा <i>sā</i>	तत् <i>tat</i>
Greek	ὁ <i>oi</i> σὸ	ἡ <i>oi</i> σὰ	το
Gothic	<i>sa</i>	<i>so</i>	<i>thata</i>
O H G	<i>dei</i>	<i>din</i>	<i>daz</i>
Latin	<i>is te</i>	<i>is-ta</i>	<i>is-tud</i>

Genitive

Sansk	तस्य <i>tasya</i>	तस्यास् <i>tasvās</i>	तस्य <i>tasya</i>
Greek	τοῦ, τοῦ	τῆς, τῆς	τοῦ, τοῦ
Gothic	<i>this</i>	<i>thizos</i>	<i>this</i>
O H G	<i>des</i>	<i>derā</i>	<i>des</i>
Latin	<i>istius</i>	<i>istius</i>	<i>istius</i>

Dative

Sansk	तस्मै <i>tasmai</i>	तस्यै <i>tasyai</i>	तस्मै <i>tasmai</i>
Greek	τῷ (τῷ)	τῇ, τῇ (τῷ)	τῷ (τῷ)
Gothic	<i>thamma</i>	<i>thizái</i>	<i>thamma</i>
O H G	<i>demu</i>	<i>deru</i>	<i>demu</i>
Latin	<i>isti</i>	<i>istæ (istai)</i>	<i>isti</i>

Accusative

	MASCULINE	FEMININE	NEUTER
Sansk	तम् tam	ताम् tām	तत् tat
Greek	τὸν	τήν, τάν	τὸ
Gothic	thana	thô	thata
O H G	den	'dia	daz
Latin	istum	istam	istud

Ablative

Sansk	तस्मात् tasmāt	तस्यास् tasyās	तस्मात् tasmāt
-------	----------------	----------------	----------------

Instrumental

Sansk	तेन tena	तया tayā	तेन tena
Latin	isto	istâ	isto

Locative

Sansk	तस्मिन् tasmīn	तस्याम् tasyām	तस्मिन् tasmīn
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DUAL

Nominative and Accusative

Sansk	तौ tau	तै te	तै te
Greek	τὼ	τὰ	τὼ

Genitive and Dative in Greek

Instrumental, Dative, and Accusative in Sanskrit

Sansk	ताभ्याम् tābhyām	—	—
Greek	τοῖν	ταῖν	τοῖν

PLURAL

Nominative

Sansk	तै te	तास् tās	तानि tam
Greek	οἱ (σoι)	αἱ (σaι)	τὰ
Gothic	thái	thôs	thô
O H G	diê	diô	diu
Latin	isti	istæ	ista

Genitive

	MASCULINE	FEMININE	NEUTER
Sansk	तेषाम् teshām	तासाम् tāsam	तेषाम् teshām
Greek	τῶν	ταῶν	τῶν
Gothic	thizê	thizô	thizê
O H G	deiô	dero	deiô
Latin	istorum (isto- sum)	istarum (ista- sum)	istorum (istosum)

Dative

Sansk	तेभ्यस् tebhyas	ताभ्यस् tābhyas	तेभ्यस् tebhyas
Greek	τοῖς	ταῖς	τοῖς
Gothic	thaim	thaim	thaim
O H G	dēm	dēm	dēm
Latin	istis (istobus)	istis (istabus)	istis (istobus)

Accusative

Sansk	तान् tān	तास् tāś	तानि tani
Greek	τοὺς	ταῖς	τὰ
Gothic	thans	thōs	thō
O H G	diê	diô	diu
Latin	istos	istas	ista

Ablative in Sanskrit same as Dative

Instrumental

Sansk	तैस् tais	ताभिस् tābhis	तैस् tais
Greek	τοῖς	ταῖς	τοῖς
Latin	istis	istis (istabus)	istis

Locative

Sansk	तेषु teshu	तासु tāsu	तेषु teshu
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SECTION IV

General observations on the preceding facts

It will be apparent on a survey of the foregoing table, that the pronouns of the third person bear as near a relation to each other, in the several languages compared, as do those of the first and second. These relations, as well as the analogies discoverable in the former tables, are chiefly evident in the oblique cases, though by comparing the nominatives merely they might be recognised.

But in the multiplicity of terminations which the declension of these pronouns displays, it will be in vain to look for the pronominal suffixes of the system of verbs. The variety of endings precludes the hope of any certain discoveries in this respect. And if we confine our examination to the nominative cases of the pronouns, which alone can be taken into the account with strict propriety, we find only one which contains exactly the ending connected with the personal verb. In all the languages compared in the preceding tables, the termination of the first person plural is in *amus*, *ames*, *amo*, or *am*. This in the older forms of the Greek language is the pronoun of the corresponding person. If in other instances such a correspondence were discoverable, the problem which refers to the actual origin of the verbal

inflections would be solved. But this unfortunately is not the case, and hence many philological writers and grammarians still deem it uncertain on what principle these varieties in the endings of the verb were really formed; and those who consider them as dependent upon pronominal suffixes have been rather inclined to lay down this position as a probable one, than as established by decisive proofs.

In this state of the question it is fortunate that there is one idiom in which the personal pronouns, as well as the verbal suffixes, have been preserved in a form apparently much less altered from their original one, than in any of the more celebrated and classical dialects, in which philologists have in general sought the means of elucidating the structure of language. I allude to the Celtic dialects, and particularly to that still spoken by the Welsh people, but which is found in a much more perfect state in the productions of British writers coeval with, or even of greater antiquity than, the oldest compositions of the Anglo-Saxons. The preservation of the pronouns in the Welsh language during so long a period of time has perhaps resulted from the circumstance, that in that idiom they are undeclinable words, whereas in most of the European dialects they are susceptible, as we have seen, of copious inflection and variety of endings. The terminations of words in general are but little capable of change in the Celtic idioms, as indeed are those idioms themselves, of which the people appear ever

to have been remarkably tenacious. It would perhaps not be going too far to say, that no language in Europe has undergone so little change in an equal space of time as the Welsh sustained during the centuries which intervened between Aneurin and Lhywarch and the period when the Sacred Scriptures were translated into it. To whatever circumstances the fact is to be attributed, it seems to be certain, as I hope to make it sufficiently apparent, that the Celtic idioms preserve, in a more perfect state than any other languages of Europe or Asia, the original pronouns of which abbreviated forms enter as suffixes into the inflections of verbs through the numbers and persons.

That the resources afforded by the Celtic dialects have not yet been applied to the elucidation of grammatical forms in the European languages, in general, has arisen, as I apprehend, from the fact that inquiries of this description have been pursued chiefly by German scholars, who, owing to local circumstances, have been little acquainted with these provincial idioms of the British isles. It will be my endeavour, in the course of the following investigation, to supply the deficiency, but before I enter upon this part of my task, I shall beg leave to set before my readers some passages from Professor Grimm's Analysis of the Teutonic Languages, in order to show how far the inquiry respecting the origin of verbal inflections has already advanced, and what remains to be done, or to be attempted.

The characteristic terminations of person and number in the Teutonic verbs, which, as we have seen, have such endings closely analogous to those of other European languages, are thus deduced by Professor Grimm

The ending of the first person singular seems, as he observes, to have been originally *m*. Thus, however, is in many instances defective, and has been more lately softened into *n*. The second person singular is characterized by a final *s*, the third person by *ti*.

The first person plural added originally to the final *m* of the singular number an *s* (with a vowel interposed), which however was gradually dropped

The second person plural had *ti*, like the third person singular, adding perhaps an *s* (with an interposed vowel), which was afterwards rejected

Lastly, the third person plural had *nd*, of which the *n* again is in many instances defective

The dual seems originally to have had *vs* in the first person, and *ts* in the second, and in the third to have been wanting

The imperative mood in the strongly inflected conjugation entirely rejects any personal inflection, and it makes the second person dual and plural, as well as the first person plural, perhaps also the first person dual, like the indicative, while it always wants the first and third persons singular. The characteristic of the infinitive mood is the consonant *n*,

which however is wanting in several dialects. It may be remarked, that the indicative mood has the personal characteristics in a more complete state than the conjunctive mood, and the present tense than the preterite tense. Moreover, the first and third persons of the preterite invariably want the characteristic consonant, and the *n* subjoined to the *n* of the third person plural in the present tense is wanting in the preterite, the modification already induced in the verb itself, in the formation of the preterite tense, being sufficient for distinguishing the sense in conversation.

In another part of his work the same writer makes the following observations, with a view to elucidate, as far as the languages within his scope would afford opportunity, the origin of these inflections.

He says, "The personal characteristics in the conjugation of verbs allow of a satisfactory comparison with the personal pronouns, the relations of which are blended in the idea of the verb. Something is really explained by this comparison. Some parts of the personal pronoun destitute of gender offer themselves in a striking manner, what is less obvious we must endeavour to restore from the corrupt state partly of the pronoun, and partly of the verbal inflection, the variations of which have been for an indefinite time increasing each in its own way, without regard to the original connection

between them. Sometimes the forms of the pronoun^b may be conjectured from the verb, and sometimes those of the verb from the pronoun, the third person is for obvious reasons the most obscure, of which the pronoun destitute of gender has undergone the greatest change, has become defective in some cases, and in some instances has been entirely lost, while the pronoun of the third person having gender shows no relation to the verbal inflection. The characteristic terminations of the third person, singular and plural, viz *ð*, and *nd*, *appear to me quite inexplicable by means of the German pronouns*. The *m* of the first person singular is more tractable. From pentamêts in the first person plural I infer a more ancient *meis*, instead of the Old High German *weis*, and trace from *meis*, *mis*, *wis*, *wir*. The termination of the second person in *tu* is clearly related to the pronoun *thu*, and affords room for conjecturing an older, *thys* (*thyûs*), instead of *jus*, for the second person plural. Lastly, the characteristic endings of the dual *v* and *ts* have a relation to the dual pronominal forms *vit* and *jut* (originally *juts*). The examination of foreign languages anciently connected will help to support these conjectures ”^c

I shall examine whether this subject will admit of further elucidation from the extant forms of the Celtic verbs and pronouns

^b The difficult anomalies of which are observed in page 813 of Grimm's *Grammatik*

Grimm, p 1052

SECTION V

Of the Celtic pronouns

The Celtic dialects, having no declension of the pronouns, properly so termed, supply the deficiency in a manner similar to that adopted in the Hebrew, and other cognate languages. They have two series of personal pronouns, the distinct or entire pronouns, which are chiefly used as nominative cases, or as accusatives after verbs, and a class of abbreviated pronouns used in regimen particularly after prepositions, and answering the purpose of the oblique cases of pronouns in other languages. I shall first give a table of the entire pronouns, as they exist in both of the principal branches of the Celtic language.

PARAGRAPH I

Entire personal pronouns in the Irish

The entire personal pronouns in the Irish, are as follows

First Person

Me, I or me

Šmn, we, mn, secondary form, the initial s being changed for m and at length omitted *

Second Person

Tu, thou, tlu, *ie* t'lu, secondary form

Sibh, you, ibh, secondary form.

* In chap. 1 see 1 the reader will find an explanation of what is meant by the secondary forms of initial consonants.

Third Person

Singular Masculine.

Se, he , e, secondary form

Singular Feminine

Si, she , i, secondary form

Plural Common

Siad, they , iad, secondary form

PARAGRAPH 2

Entire pronouns persond in Welsh

First Person

Mi, I , reduplicate form, myvi, *ēyōyε*, secondary form of initial, vi and i

Ni, we , reduplicate form, nym

Second Person

Ti, thou , reduplicate form, tydi, secondary form of initial, di and thi

Chwi, you , reduplicate form, chwydi.

Third Person

Masculine Singular

Ev, eve, evo, vè, vø, e, ø

All these various words occur for he and him

Note The Welsh translators of the Holy Scriptures considered *eve* as a nominative case preceding the verb, and they used *ev* for the accusative, but in this they are sed by the most learned of the Welsh grammarians to be in opposition as well to the common usage of the Welsh language as to the authority of the old poets ^b

With more probability, *eve* and *evo* have been considered by grammarians as reduplicate forms, the simple pronoun being *ev*, or rather *e*. Analogy leads us to suppose that the original state

^b *Antique Langue Britannique Rudiments*, rectore Joh. Davies. Editio altera, Oxonii, 1809, p. 84.

of this pronoun was in Welsh as it is in Erse, *se*, and, the initial being softened, *he*, which was afterwards written *e*

Feminine Singular.

Hi, she, reduplicated, *hihi*

Note The same rule of analogy above referred to proves that *hi* was derived from a primitive form *si*, whence *hi*, as in Erse

Plural Common

Hwy and *hwynt*, reduplicate form, *hwynt hwy*."

Note There is reason to suspect that *hwy* and *hwynt* were in like manner originally *swy* and *swynt*, though this ancient form is no longer extant even in Erse. But of this there is no proof, but that which is afforded by analogy

PARAGRAPH 3.

Pronouns in regimen or Pronominal Suffixes.

Such is the entire and proper form of the personal pronouns in the Celtic dialects, and they probably represent a very old or the primitive state of these parts of speech in the Indo-European languages. It may indeed in many instances be observed that the Celtic pronouns are the nominatives from which the oblique cases in those languages may be regularly formed, whereas these cases, in several examples that might be adduced, have little or no affinity to the vocables which now stand to them in the relation of nominatives. The real nominatives appear to have been lost, and other words substituted in their places, but in the Celtic, which has no declension of pronouns, the original forms, perhaps in consequence of this very circumstance, have been preserved.

But besides the series of forms above given, the pronouns in the Celtic language are also found in a state considerably modified by composition or construction with other words. The preceding are all separate and complete words by themselves; those to which I now allude are abbreviated, or modified and affected in orthography by the words which are immediately prefixed. I shall show this by examples, and take, in the first place, the pronouns as governed by and blended with some of the prepositions*

The following are the forms in which the personal pronouns appear when following the preposition *at*, to —

mi or vi	}	is changed into	av	as attav, to me
ti or di			at	attat, to thee
evo			aw and	attaw
hi			o	utto } to him
m	}	becomes	1	atti, to her
chwí .			om	as attom, to us
hwynt			och	attoch, to you
			ynt	attynt, to them

The preposition *tan*, under, changes them in a similar manner, as—

1	tanav	tanom
2	tanat	tanoeh
3	tano and tani	tanynt

* In what remains to be said on the subject of the pronouns, I shall, to avoid perplexity, confine myself to the Welsh dialect of the Celtic, premising that in the Erse dialect very nearly the same facts are to be observed

Rhwng, between, changes them as follows :

1	rhyng-ov	rhyng-om
2	rhyng-of	rhyng-och.
3	{ rhyng-dho	rhyng-dh-ynt or
	{ rhyng-dhi	rhyng-th-ynt

Yn, in, changes them thus

ynov, in me	ynom, in us
ynot, in thee	ynoch, in you
yntho, or	{ in him { ynthynt, or
yndho, }	
ynthi, or	{ in her { yndhynt, in them
yndhi, }	

Trwy, through, alters them thus

trwyov,	trwyom
trwyot,	trwyoch
trwydho, }	trwydhynt
trwydhi, }	

Wrth, by, thus

wrthyv,	wrthym
wrthyt,	wrthyth
wrtho, }	wrthynt
wrthi, }	

The preceding are all very analogous, but another form occurs in the combination of the pronouns with the preposition *y*, to, of which it is important to take notice."

1	im' or ym', to me	in' or yn', to us
2	it' or yt' to thee	iwch, to you
3.	idho, to him	idhynt, to them
	idhi, to her	

Nor are these mutations of the personal pronouns confined to the instance of their combinations with prepositions. They are thus compounded with the possessive pronoun or adjective *eidho*, own.

<i>eidhov</i> , my own	<i>eidhom</i> , our own
<i>eidhot</i> , thy own	<i>eidhoch</i> , your own,
<i>eidho</i> , his own	<i>eidhont</i> } then own
<i>eidhi</i> , her own	<i>eidhynt</i> }

The Welsh grammarians deduce analytically the following series of forms under which the personal pronouns occur when thus modified by the preceding words

<i>mi</i>	} becomes {	<i>av</i> , <i>ov</i> , <i>vv</i> , or <i>m</i>
<i>ti</i>		<i>at</i> , <i>ot</i> , <i>yt</i> , or <i>t'</i>
<i>evo</i>		<i>aw</i> , <i>o</i> , or <i>dho</i>
<i>hi</i>		<i>i</i> or <i>dhi</i>
<i>ni</i>		<i>om</i> , <i>ym</i> , or <i>n'</i>
<i>chw</i>		<i>och</i> , <i>ych</i> , or <i>ch</i>
<i>hwynt</i>		<i>ynt</i> , sometimes <i>dhynt</i>

The reader can hardly fail to be struck with the very obvious relation which discovers itself between this series of pronouns and the personal endings of the Welsh verbs, of which the different forms were given in the preceding chapter. The comparison of the two tables will at once prove that the terminations of the verbs are in fact a series of pronominal suffixes, and the problem which regards the origin of these personal inflections may be considered as solved, in so far as it regards the Welsh and the other dialects of the Celtic language. There is in-

deed in Welsh a considerable variety in the personal terminations of the verbs, and this may be supposed with probability to have been a consequence of the poverty of the Celtic language in respect to the conjugations in temporal and modal inflections, or in those changes by which the differences of mood and tense are indicated. In these modifications the Celtic has fewer resources than many other languages, and it was probably found necessary to supply the deficiency by a considerable variety in the personal endings, which in some measure help to characterise the tenses. There is not, however, in these a greater diversity than among the abbreviated pronouns, and nearly all the verbal terminations are to be found in the preceding table. This I shall now shew by a comparison of the verbal endings with the pronouns.

PARAGRAPH 4.

Comparison of the personal endings of verbs with the contracted forms of the pronouns

It may be remembered that in a former section the personal endings of the verbs in the Welsh language were said to be reducible for the most part to four, or rather three principal forms. These are as follows.

First form.	Second form	Third form
SING	SING	SING
1 -av	-ais	-wn
2 -i	-aist	-it
3 root simply	-odh	-ai.

PLUR	PLUR	PLUR
1 -wn	-om	-em or -ym
2 -weh	-och	-ech or -ych
3 -ant	-ont	-ent or -ynt

If the reader will only compare this table with that of abbreviated pronouns contained in the end of the last paragraph, he will perceive at once their relation.

The plural terminations are precisely the pronouns. The first set presents the greatest variety, but even these are traced among the pronouns, in' or yn' and iweh, being the forms which the pronouns *ni* and *clwi* assume after the proposition *i*. The first of these, in' or yn', seems a more natural change of *ni*, than the more usual *om* or *ym*, which is so remote from *ni* as to give rise to suspicion that the Welsh language had once a pronoun resembling the *ἄμεις* or *ἄμεις* of the Greeks, and that this has been lost, notwithstanding the permanent character of the Celtic dialects.

The personal endings in the singular number are more various, but they are still analogous to the abbreviated pronouns. In the first form, for example, which is that of the future or present tense, the first person has the ending in *av*, which the pronoun *ni* or *vi* generally assumes in regimen, as above shewn. The *ais* of the second form is not pronominal, but an inflection characteristic of the tense, the syllable *ais* or *as* being introduced in the past tenses of the Celtic verb, nearly as the *od* or *ed* in the Teutonic

conjugations ; it is brought in before the pronominal termination, as 'in the plurals *carasom*, *carasoch*, *carasant*. The second person, in two out of the three forms, has the abbreviated pronoun as a suffix, either in *it* or *t*. In the first form, the ending *i*, though it does not appear among the abbreviated pronouns, is the termination of the separate pronoun of the second person ; and this is therefore probably a suffix. The third person is differently constituted. In the first form of the verb, as in *carav*, *ceri*, *câr*, from the word *caru* to love, or in *bydhav*, *bydhi*, *býdh*, from the verb substantive, the third person is merely the verbal root used, as in the Semitic languages, without any suffix. In the third form *ai* was perhaps *ae*, and derived from *eve*, or its modification as used in *regimen é*. The ending in *odh* seems anomalous in the Welsh language, though it nearly resembles the termination of the third person in other idioms, as the Teutonic *aith* or *ot*^d. The Welsh suffix, if formed regularly from the pronoun, would be in *o* or *aw* ; and this actually occurs in the future tense of the subjunctive mood, which does not fall under either of the forms above stated, but has the singular number thus

1. *bydhwyv*, 2. *bydhych*, 3. *bydho*. "

PARAGRAPH 5

General result in respect to the Celtic verbs.

On a review of this analysis it appears clearly that the Welsh verbal terminations are in general

^d Is it the abbreviated form of the pronoun (*dho*) reversed ?

merely abbreviated or modified pronouns, affixed to the verbal roots; and this conclusion does not rest merely upon a probable conjecture, on which the grammarians of other Indo-European languages have been obliged to found it, but on the more substantial fact, that the very terminations in question are actually to be identified with the pronouns as they are used on other occasions in an abbreviated form.

SECTION VI

Conclusions respecting the personal inflections of verbs in the other Indo-European languages

As it has been, I trust, satisfactorily proved that the inflection of verbs in the Welsh language consists in the addition of pronominal suffixes to the verbal roots, and as in a former section sufficient evidence appeared, of the affinity and original sameness of the verbal inflections in all these languages, we are entitled to infer without hesitation, that in the other languages which belong to this stock, the verbs are inflected on the same principle, and that, although in many instances they are no longer extant, pronouns formerly existed in all these idioms more or less analogous to the Welsh pronouns.

It will be worth while to go a little more minutely into this consideration.

1. The pronoun of the third person plural in Welsh is *hwynt* in the entire form, and *ynt* in the

contracted one, which, as a verbal suffix, is ynt, ent, ont, ant. In the other languages the terminations of the verb are as follows

In Greek, οντι, εντι, αυ, οντο, κ τ λ.

In Sanskrit, anti, antu, an.

In Latin, ant, ent, unt, anto, ento, etc.

In Teutonic, and, aina, ont, ant, on, etc.

These languages have no personal pronoun now extant similar to hwynt or ynt ; but, from the considerations above adverted to, it is probable that such a pronoun existed in them.

2. The Welsh separate pronoun of the first person plural is *ni*, which is to be recognised in other languages in the oblique, if not in the nominative cases.^a The contracted form of this pronoun in *n'* enters into some of the Welsh tenses as a suffix, but most of them have the other Welsh pronoun of this person, *om* or *ym*. This, as we have observed, can scarcely be derived from *ni*, but rather comes from some separate pronoun originally common to all these languages, which must have been analogous to the Greek *ἄμε* or *ἄμες*, or perhaps a plural formed from the nominative singular *mi*. However this may have been, the termination, *am*, *em*, *ym* is really a contracted pronoun in the Welsh

^a VIZ in Sanskrit, नौ nau
in Greek, νῶϊ
in Latin, nos
in Russian, нас

language, and must have existed as such in the cognate idioms. The following endings may therefore be regarded as pronominal suffixes.

In Greek,	<i>αμες, ομες</i>
In Sanskrit,	<i>āmah, or āmas, ma</i>
In Latin,	<i>amus, emus, imus, umus</i>
In Teutonic,	<i>ames, omes, aima, am</i>

3. The separate pronoun of the second person plural in Welsh is *chwī*, and the abbreviated one *och* or *yeh*, which, as we have seen, is also the suffix in the endings of verbs for this person. All the other Indo-European languages have a dental consonant in the place of the Welsh guttural or palatine letter, as in the

Teutonic dialects,	<i>aith, ith, uth, ot, et</i>
In Sanskrit,	<i>ātha, tha, or ta</i>
In Greek,	<i>ατε, ετε, τε</i>
In Latin,	<i>atis, ate, etis, etc, itis, ite.</i>

What the separate pronoun was in these languages from which the termination of the verb is contracted, we can scarcely hope to discover, but the fact being proved that the Celtic verb is here formed by means of a pronominal suffix, we may infer from analogy that the same construction holds in the other languages.

4. We have seen that the separate pronoun of the first person singular in Welsh is *mi* or *vi*, and the constructive pronoun *av*, *ov*, *yv*, or *m'*. The

verbal suffix is *av oi yv* · in the Eise dialect it is *am, aim, or im*.^c In most other languages *m* is the characteristic consonant of this person, with or without a subsequent vowel, as,

In Greek, *μι, as εἰμι, τίθημι*

In Sanskrit, *mi, or m, as bhavāmi, abhavishyam.*

In Latin, *m, as inquam, sum, amabam.* „

Although the pronouns extant in these languages do not come so near to the above terminations as the Welsh *mi, vi, and m'*, still they may account for it tolerably well

In Greek and in Latin, the *εγω* or *ego* probably gave rise to the ending of verbs in *o*, which is perhaps a later form than the termination in *mi* ^b

In other instances the first person singular has no addition to the simple verb, or to the common characteristic of the tense. The verb was used in this state either with the separate pronoun or without any. The other persons are marked by characteristic additions, and it was sufficient for the first to be without any suffix. But while the Teutonic dialects have the first person in this state, the Celtic dialects, like the Semitic languages, have the third person most frequently in the simple state, or in that which is nearest to the verbal root.

^c This is contrary to the opinion of some eminent grammarians, who regard the form in *μι* as more recent than that in *o*. Before this opinion can be allowed to be probable, some answer must be given to the question, How it can have happened that the newer forms in the Greek language should resemble those of the Sanskrit so much more than the older ones, as they would do on the hypothesis?

5. The second and third persons singular end as follows :

	SECOND PERSON	THIRD PERSON
Greek,	σῖ or s,	τῖ, τῶ, or εῖ
Sanskrit,	si or s,	ti, or t.
Latin,	s	t
Teutonic,	aîs, is, es,	eith, eth, t

- Here there seems to be, at the first view of the subject, an interchange of pronouns; for the pronoun of the second person, in its usual state, was in all these languages nearly the same as in Welsh. It was τῷ, tu, twam (*i.e.* radically tu), thu, in Greek, Latin, Sanskrit; and Gothic respectively and the pronoun of the third person is sah, and sa in Sanskrit and Gothic. But we may observe in the first place that the original form of the third person was in all these languages tō, tāh, te, or at least a *t* with a vowel adjoined. This is indicated by the analogy of the neuter gender and the oblique cases. The Greek was originally—

	τὸς,	τὰ,	τὸ
The Latin with is prefixed (?)	} te,	ta,	tud
The Sanskrit,	tas or tah,	} tã,	tat, or tad.
The Gothic,	tha,		tho, tha, or thata.

A modification of these pronouns, according to the rule adopted in the other persons, would produce the endings of verbs in the third person singular exactly as they are above laid down.

In those instances in which the third person of the verb has an ending in a vowel, we may account for the peculiarity by supposing, either that the suffix has been omitted, as it was above shown to be in some languages, or that a contracted pronoun, akin to the *e* of the Welsh or the *ε* of the Greek language, has been used.

The personal pronouns of the second and third persons are so nearly alike, that it was found necessary to distinguish the verb connected with each by some discriminating mark; and this was easily done by taking a form of one personal pronoun, which was perhaps originally only a dialectic difference, but in which the sibilant consonant is substituted for a dental one. It is well known that *ς* and *τ* are easily interchanged, as when the Greek *σσ* is transmuted into *ττ*, and in the present instance *τω* has been actually changed for *σú*. There being two forms of the pronoun, a sibilant and a dental one, the former was preferred for the characteristic of the second person in those instances in which the dental had been appropriated to the third person.

We shall endeavour in the sequel to make some of these remarks more certain and explicit, by an examination of particular tenses and a comparison of the different forms of verbs in the several languages of the same stock.⁽¹⁴⁾

NOTE ON SECTION VI, AND THE CHAPTER IN GENERAL.

(14) *Doctrine respecting the origin of the persons of verbs* — The writer in this country who first gave due prominence to the doctrine respecting the origin of the personal endings of the Celtic and other verbs, was the late Mr Garnett. *Inter alia*, as a matter of philological history, he pointed out a passage in the writings of that excellent, but under-valued, archaeologist, Lhuyd, adding, however, that Dr Prichard did not seem to be aware of it—as was doubtless the case. No man was more incapable of appropriating the discovery of a predecessor. The passage, however, of Lhuyd, as given by Mr Garnett, is as follows —“We may observe that the verbs have derived their distinction of persons originally from the pronouns, in regard we find yet some foot-steps of them in their termination. For the last letter in *Guelav* [I see] is taken from *u*, I, the last of *Guelon* [we see], from *ni*, we, of *Guelock* and *Gueloh* [ye see], from *chi* and *hui*, ye, and in *Guelanz*, the third person plural, the pronoun [which] is almost wholly retained for *anz*, *onz*, or *omz*, is but the same with our Welsh *mynt* or *hmynt*, they.” Of paramount importance, however, was Mr Garnett’s own modification of the theory. In a contribution to the ‘Quarterly Review,’ for Christmas, A.D. 1836, (vol. lvi, pp. 93, 94), he writes as follows —“We have a statement of Lhuyd, making a perfectly analogous one with respect to the personal terminations of the verb in Welsh, in his well-known work, ‘The Eastern Origin of the Celtic Nations.’ Both those eminent scholars refer those terminations to the ordinary nominatives of the personal pronouns, of which they consider them to be abbreviated forms. As far back as A.D. 1836, the writer believed that he saw reason to allege strong objections to this view of the matter, which he expressed in the following terms in a critique on Dr Prichard’s work —‘We have observed that Dr Prichard’s statements respecting the Celtic languages throw a new and important light on the formation of language, and this we hold to be particularly the case with respect to the verb. He has shown that the personal terminations in Welsh are pronouns, and that they are more clearly and unequivocally so than the corresponding endings in Sanskrit or its immediate descendants. However, he lays no

stress upon a fact which we cannot but consider highly important, viz that they are evidently in statu regiminis, not in apposition or concord in other words, they are not nominatives, but oblique cases, precisely such as are affixed to various prepositions. For example, the second person plural does not end with the nominative *chwi*, but with *ech, wch, oeh, ych*, which last three forms are also found coalescing with various prepositions—*uch*, to you, *ynoch*, in you, *withych*, through you. Now the roots of Welsh verbs are confessedly nouns, generally of abstract signification. ex gr *dysg* is both *doctrina* and the 2nd pers imperative, *doce*, *dysg-och* or *-wch* is not, therefore, *docetis* or *docebitis vos*, but *doctrina vestrâ*, teaching of or by you. This leads to the important conclusion that a verb is nothing but a noun, combined with an *oblique case* of a personal pronoun, virtually including in it a connecting *preposition*. This is what constitutes the real *copula* between the subject and the attribute. *Doctrina ego* is a logical absurdity, but *doctrina mei*, teaching of me, necessarily includes in it the proposition *ego doceo*, enunciated in a strictly logical and unequivocal form."

The doctrine, then, as it now stands, is that the personal terminations of the verbs are not only pronouns, but pronouns in the oblique case—a doctrine of which full exposition is to be found in a series of papers in the earlier volumes of the 'Transactions of the Philological Society,' of unsurpassed, and, perhaps, unrivalled merit,—eminent in respect to the great width of the induction upon which the result rests, and eminent for the extent to which the method is favorably contrasted with the ordinary *a priori* mode of treating philological questions.

CHAPTER VI

Of the Inflection of Verbs through Tenses and Moods

SECTION I

General view of the subject.

THE observations comprised in the two last chapters relate merely to the personal endings of verbs, or to those inflections which serve to distinguish their different persons and numbers. The modifying principles, on which depends the discrimination of moods and tenses, yet remain to be analyzed and compared. These are two distinct subjects of inquiry. I have been induced to enter into the former at some length for two reasons. The principal of these is, the convincing proof which the inflections already surveyed appear to furnish of a deeply-rooted affinity between the Celtic dialects and the other languages of Europe and Asia which have been compared with them. Another motive has been the hope of throwing some light on the grammatical principles governing the inflection of verbs in all these idioms. How far this attempt has been successful my readers must judge. I ought now to proceed to the more arduous task of examining the structure of verbs through their different moods and

tenses, and of tracing the relations which the latter bear to each other in different languages. But this endeavour is in the outset obstructed by the great, and, I fear, as yet hardly surmountable difficulties. The structure of the Teutonic languages, and the analogies of these to the Greek, Latin, and Sanskrit, have already occupied the attention of several accurate and ingenious writers, who have been mentioned in the preceding pages, but the Celtic dialects may be said to furnish a new and almost unexplored field. The attempts which have been made to elucidate their etymology have been, with very few exceptions, remarkably unsuccessful, and it will perhaps be long before any person, possessed of the requisite opportunities for performing this task in the best manner, may be found ready to undertake it. In this deficiency of materials, and in the want of any correct arrangement of such as exist, I am aware that I enter upon the remainder of my inquiry under very unfavorable circumstances. I am quite unable to proceed in the investigation of the Celtic language and its affinities with that accuracy and lucid analysis, which Professors Bopp and Grimm have applied to the idioms which they have examined and compared. Perhaps, indeed, the subject itself does not admit of such illustration. I expect, however, to furnish proofs which shall be deemed a sufficient groundwork for the inferences to be founded upon them.

I shall enter upon this part of my subject, as in

the former instance, by examining the particular features in other idioms, which I mean afterwards to compare with those of the Celtic dialects

SECTION II

Modifications of Verbs common to the Sanskrit and Greek

The most striking and extensive marks of relationship are to be traced between the Sanskrit conjugations of verbs and the Latin and Greek, but particularly between the Sanskrit verbs and the Greek verbs in μ . The Sanskrit verbs may indeed be said to be governed by the same laws of conjugation as the latter. But, in making this remark, we must distinguish three series or different sets of Greek verbs in μ , and allow the two former to constitute in some respects an exception to this analogy; though in another point of view they will be found to confirm it. The first are those verbs which, besides the characteristic endings of this conjugation, have also a reduplication of the first syllable, or an addition which is a substitute for one, as the verbs $\tau\theta\eta\mu$, $\delta\acute{\iota}\delta\omega\mu$, and $\iota\sigma\tau\eta\mu$. There are verbs in Sanskrit which have a similar reduplication it is not, however, a general character, but the mark of a particular conjugation, which ranks as the third in the series of ten classes. Verbs of the third con-

jugation reduplicate the first consonant, or make some equivalent prefix. Thus from the verbal root *dā*, *to give*, comes the verb *dadāmi*, *dadasi*, *dadati*, answering to *δίδωμι*, *δίδως*, *δίδωσι* or *δίδωτι*, which prefixes this reduplication through the four first tenses formed like the first three in Greek from the present tense, but has no remarkable peculiarity in other parts of the verb. Many other Sanskrit verbs, which do not belong to the third conjugation, undergo a modification not unlike that of the root of *ἵστημι*. Thus from the root *st* *sthā*, *to stand*, comes the present tense *tishthāmi*, *tishthasi*, *tishthati*. A second class of Greek verbs in *μι* insert the syllable *νυ* between the verbal root and the personal endings, as the verb *ζεύγ-νυ-μι*. There is likewise a particular class of Sanskrit verbs analogous to these, and having the same distinction, which is considered as the character of the fifth conjugation but these are, as in Greek, a comparatively small number of verbs. Those Greek verbs in *μι*, however, which bear the nearest resemblance to the generality of Sanskrit verbs, are such as make no prefix to the initial of the root, nor any insertion, but merely add the personal termination. Among these we reckon *φημι*, *dico*; *ἵστημι*, *scio*; *εἶμι*, *sum*, and *εἶμι*, *vado*. Some of the same class are obsolete in the present tense, and only used in the aorist, as *βῆμι*, *proficiscor*, and *γίγνημι*, *senescor*; and this last may be compared to the Sanskrit verb *jarāmi*, of the same meaning.

	SANSKRIT	GREEK	Doric FORMS
Sing	jarāmi	γῆριμι	
	jarasi	γῆρης	
	jarati	γῆρησι	γῆρατι.
Dual	jarāvas		
	jarathas	γῆρατοῦ	
	jaratas	γῆρατον	
Plural	jarāmas	γῆραμεν	γῆραμες (?)
	jaratha	γῆρατε	
	jaranti	γῆρασι	γῆραντι

*Of the Præterita Augmentata, or Preterimperfect
Tense and Aorists*

There are two preterite tenses in Sanskrit verbs, which are deserving of particular notice, as they are formed in a manner very similar to that of two tenses of the Greek verb. One of them is analogous to the imperfect, and the other to the aorists, and there is no reason that forbids their being distinguished by these terms.

1. The imperfect is formed from the present tense by prefixing an augment, and abbreviating the personal endings. The augment is the first short vowel अ a which, corresponding with the short vowels of the Greeks, might be represented indifferently by α or ϵ . Thus are formed from

tudāmi	} ————— }	atudāmi
tudasi		atudas
tudati		atudat.

2 The aorist has three, or rather, according to Professor Bopp's division, seven forms. Of these it

is observed, that the four first agree more or less closely with the Greek first aorist, the fifth and sixth with the second aorist, and the seventh, which, besides an augment, admits a reduplication of the first syllable, with the preterpluperfect. Thus in the four first some make this tense by inserting *s*, or the syllable *is*, or *sa*, or *sas*, between the root and the personal endings, and by prefixing the augment to the root, the vowel of which undergoes a change by the forms *guna* and *vuddhi*. The root *kship*, present tense *kshipām*, makes the aorist *akshepam*. This is one of the examples given by Bopp, and the analogy is more striking, if the words are written as the Greeks would have written them, thus

PRESENT TENSE
ξίπρ,
ξίπαμι,
ἔξιψαμ,

The two succeeding forms of the aorist differ from the imperfect tense very nearly in the same manner in which the second aorist in Greek differs from the Greek imperfect

We shall find the insertion of *s*, *sa*, or *as*, to be a method used in other instances for the formation of tenses with a past signification ⁽¹⁵⁾

NOTE ON SECTION II

(15) *On the s of the Greek aorist* —The following is the reprint of a paper published by the editor in the 'Transactions of the Philological Society' (read March 11, 1853). It takes an exception to a *portion* of the doctrine of Bopp, in respect to the

origin of the *s* in the first aorist. It is headed—‘On the Aorists in -κα’.

“A well-known rule in the Eton Greek Grammar may serve to introduce the subject of the present remarks —‘*Quinque sunt aoristi primi qui futuri primi characteristicam non assumunt ἔθηκα posui, ἔδωκα dedi, ἦκα misi, εἶπα dixi, ἤνεγκα tulī*’ The absolute accuracy of this sentence is no part of our considerations—it has merely been quoted for the sake of illustration.

“What is the import of this abnormal *κ*’ or, changing the expression, what is the explanation of the aorist in -κα? Is it certain that it *is* an aorist? or, granting this, is it certain that its relations to the future are exceptional?

“The present writer was at one time inclined to the doubts implied by the first of these alternatives, and gave some reasons* for making the form a *perfect* rather than an aorist. He finds, however, that this is only shifting the difficulty. How do *perfects* come to end in -κα? The typical and unequivocal perfects are formed by a reduplication at the beginning, and a modification of the final radical consonant at the end, of words, *τύπ(τ)ω, τέ-τυφ-α*, and this is the origin of the *χ* in *λέλεχα*, etc., which represents the *γ* of the root. Hence, even if we allow ourselves to put the *κ* in *ἔθηκα* in the same category with the *κ* in *ὀμώμοκα*, etc., we are as far as ever from the true origin of the form.

“In this same category, however, the two words—and the classes they represent—can be placed, notwithstanding some small difficulties of detail. At any rate, it is easier to refer *ὀμώμοκα* and *ἔθηκα* to the same tense, than it is to do so with *ὀμώμοκα* and *-έτυφα*.

“The next step is to be sought in Bopp’s Comparative Grammar. Here we find the following extract —‘The old Slavonic *dakh*, ‘I gave,’ and analogous formations remind us, through their guttural, which takes the place of a sibilant, of the Greek aorists *ἔθηκα, ἔδωκα, ἦκα*. That which in the old Slavonic has become a rule in the first person of the three numbers, viz. the *gutturalization of an original s*, may have occasionally taken place in the Greek, but carried throughout all numbers. No conjecture lies closer at hand than that of regarding *ἔδωκα* as a corruption of *ἔδωσα*,’ etc.

“The Lithuanian also presents a form which is akin to the Greek and Sanscrit aorist, in which, as it

appears to me, *k* assumes the place of an original *s*,' (vol. II p. 791, Eastwick's translation) The italics indicate the words that most demand attention

"The old Slavonic inflection alluded to is as follows —

SINGULAR	DUAL	PLURAL
1 Nes- <i>och</i>	Nes- <i>ochona</i>	Nes- <i>ochom</i>
2 Nes- <i>e</i>	Nes- <i>osta</i>	Nes- <i>oste</i>
3 Nes- <i>e</i>	Nes- <i>osta</i>	Nes- <i>osza</i>

"Now it is clear that the doctrine to which these extracts commit the author is that of the secondary or derivative character of the form of *k*, and the primary or fundamental character of the forms in *σ*. The former is deduced from the latter. And this is the doctrine which the present writer would reverse. He would just reverse it, agreeing with the distinguished scholar whom he quotes, in the identification of the Greek form with the Slavonic. So much more common is the change from *k*, *g*, and the allied sounds, to *s*, *z*, etc., than that from *s*, *z*, etc. to *k*, *g*, that the *a priori* probabilities are strongly against Bopp's view. Again, the languages that pre-eminently encourage the change are the Slavonic, yet it is just in these languages that the form in *k* is assumed to be secondary. For *s* to become *h*, and for *h* to become *k* (or *g*), is no improbable change. Still, as compared with the transition from *k* to *s*, it is exceedingly rare.

"As few writers are better aware of the phenomena connected with the direction of letter-changes than the philologist before us, it may be worth while to ask, why he has ignored them in the present instances. He has probably done so because the Sanskrit forms were in *s*, the habit of considering whatever is the more Sanskritic of two forms to be the older being well-nigh universal. Nevertheless, the difference between a language which is old because it is represented by old samples of its literature, and a language which is old because it contains primary forms, is manifest upon a very little reflection. The positive argument, however, in favour of the *k* being the older form, lies in the well-known phenomenon connected with the vowels *e* and *i*, as opposed to *a*, *o*, and *u*. All the world over, *e* and *i* have a tendency to convert a *k* or *g*, when it precedes them, into *s*, *z*, *sh*, *zh*, *ksh*, *gzh*, *tsh*, and *dzh*, or some similar sibilant. Hence, as often as a sign of tense, consisting of *k*, is followed by a sign of person, beginning with *e* or *i*, an *s* has a chance of being evolved

In this case such a form as *ἐφίλησα, ἐφίλησας, ἐφίλησε*, may have originally run *ἐφίληκα, ἐφίληκας, ἐφίληκε*. The modified form in *σ* afterwards extends itself to the other persons and numbers. Such is the illustration of the hypothesis. An objection against it lies in the fact of the person which ends in a small vowel, being only one out of seven. On the other hand, however, the third person singular is used more than all the others put together. With this influence of the small vowel other causes may have cooperated. Thus, when the root ended in *κ* or *γ*, the combination *κ radical*, and *κ inflectional* would be awkward. It would give us such words as *ἔλεκ-κα*, etc., words like *τέτυπ-κα, ἔγραπ-κα*, being but little better, at least in a language like the Greek.

"The suggestions that now follow lead into a wide field of inquiry, and they may be considered, either on their merits as part of a separate question, or as part of the proof of the present doctrine. In this latter respect they are not altogether essential, i.e. they are more confirmatory if admitted, than derogatory if denied. What if the future be derived from the aorist, instead of the aorist from the future? In this case we should increase what may be called our *dynamics*, by increasing the points of contact between a *κ* and a small vowel, this being the influence that determines the evolution of an *s*. All the persons of the future, except the first, have *ε* for one (at least) of these vowels—

τύψ-σ-ω, τύψ-σ-εις, τύψ-σ-ει, τύψ-ε-τον, etc

The moods are equally efficient in the supply of small vowels.

"The doctrine, then, now stands that *κ* is the older form, but that, through the influence of third persons singular, future forms, and conjunctive forms, so many *s*-es became developed, as to supersede it except in a few instances. The Latin language favours this view. There, the old future like *cap s-o*, and the preterites like *viu* (*vi-u*) exhibit a small vowel in *all* their persons, e.g. *vi-u-s-i, vi-u-s-isti, vi-u-s-it*, etc. Still the doctrine respecting this influence of the small vowel in the way of the development of sibilants out of gutturals is defective until we find a real instance of the change assumed. As if for the very purpose of illustrating the occasional value of obscure dialects, the interesting language of the Scrbs of Lusatia and Cothus supplies one. Here the form of the preterite is as follows, the Serb of Illyria and the Lithuanic being placed in juxtaposition

and contrast with the Serb of Lusatia. Where a *small* vowel follows the characteristic of the tense, the sound is that of *sz*, in other cases it is that of *ch* (*kh*)

	LATIN	SERB	LITHUANIAN	LETISH
Sing 1	<i>noszach</i>	<i>doneso, donije</i>	<i>nesziāu</i>	<i>nessu</i>
	2 <i>noszesze</i>	<i>donēse, donije</i>	<i>nesziēi</i>	<i>nessi</i>
	3 <i>noszesze</i>	<i>donese, donije</i>	<i>nesziēi</i>	<i>nessē</i>
Dual 1	<i>noszachue</i>		<i>nesziēwa</i>	
	2 <i>noszeszaj</i>		<i>nesziēta</i>	
	3 <i>noszeszaj</i>		<i>nesziē</i>	
Plur 1	<i>noszachmy</i>	<i>donesosmo, donijesmo</i>	<i>nesziēme</i>	<i>nessam</i>
	2 <i>noszev'c'e</i>	<i>donesostē, donijeste</i>	<i>nesziēte</i>	<i>nessat</i>
	3 <i>noszachu</i>	<i>donesosze, donijesze</i>	<i>nesziē</i>	<i>nessē</i>

SECTION III

Forms common to Greek, Latin, and Sanskrit

The preceding modifications of the verb are peculiar to the Sanskrit and Greek languages. The Latin has an imperfect resembling the Greek in meaning, though formed by a totally different mode of inflection, but it has nothing analogous to the aorist.⁽¹⁶⁾ All these three languages agree in the circumstance, that they frequently modify the present tense by an insertion of particular consonants between the verbal root and the personal endings, which consonants are dropped in the further conjugation of the verb. Such are the *ισκ*, or *isc*, in such verbs as *ἀναλίσκω* and *frigesco*, the *αν*, in *αἰσθάνομαι*, *ἀμαρτάνω*, and the numerous verbs resembling them, which are analogous to the verbs of the ninth conjugation in Sanskrit. The latter insert *na* between

the root and the termination in the present tense * These insertions are retained only in those tenses derived immediately from the present, as the imperfect is in Latin and Greek they are dropped in the preterperfect and other forms of the verb

The Teutonic language wants all these and many other variations it has no tense formed by a modification of the present "The capability of flexion in the German verbs seems," says Professor Grimm, "to have been greatly impaired Of the passive voice the last remains disappear with the Mæso-Gothic the middle voice is everywhere wanting, with the exception of a reflected form in the old northern dialect, which is in some degree analogous to a middle voice Four moods exist, the infinitive, imperative, indicative, conjunctive, but there is no optative What is most to be regretted is the loss of many tenses only a present tense and a preterite remain to us the future, and all the different degrees of the past signification, can no longer be expressed by a change in the form of the verb itself." †

NOTE ON SECTION III.

(16) *The Latin language has nothing analogous to the aorist* — Exceptions to the doctrine here exhibited are taken by the editor in his English Language Part iv. chap. xxvi. In Latin, forms like *ecce* and *vixi* (*vixi*) are both looked upon as perfects One, however, is (if tested by its form) a perfect like *τέτευχα*, the other an aorist, like *ἔτευχα*, only under a different name

* As *krin-mi*, *krin-isi*, etc. from the root *krī*, pict. *chi-ki* &c.

† Grimm's Deutsche Grammatik. Theil 1.

SECTION IV

Formation of the preterperfect in Greek, Latin, Sanskrit, and Teutonic
verbs

The preterperfect seems originally to have been formed on the same principle in the Greek, Latin, Sanskrit and Teutonic languages. Many changes in the forms of verbs have been produced by the addition of auxiliaries, or of particles inserted in or added to the root, but the preterperfect, in that method of conjugation which appears to have been the primitive one, is an inflection properly so termed. A partial repetition of the verbal root itself seems to have been originally adopted to denote a past signification, implying the act to have been done and completed.

PARAGRAPH I

Pretense in Teutonic Verbs

The pretense of the strongly inflected conjugation, says Dr. Grimm, "must be considered as a chief beauty of our language, as a character intimately connected with its antiquity and its whole constitution." Independently of the inflection in the endings, of which the nature has already been pointed out, it affects the roots themselves, and that in a double manner; either the beginning of the root is repeated before itself, or the vowel of the root, whether initial or medial, is modified. The Gothic language

yet retains both methods; it reduplicates and modifies sometimes it applies both methods at once. Reduplication never affects the terminating consonants of the root. In the other Teutonic dialects reduplication disappears, if we except slight traces, and instead of it an unorganized diphthong has been formed, the doubling of the consonant being no more thought of.

The reduplicating conjugation leaves the vowel sound of the root unaltered, and only puts the doubled syllable before the singular and plural of the preterite both indicative and conjunctive, but not before the participle. The modifying conjugation never leaves the vowel of the present tense unaltered in the preterite. On this principal are formed six reduplicating conjugations, and six of the latter description." I must refer the reader for further particulars to Dr Grimm's work, and shall here give merely an example of each of these twelve conjugations, all belonging to the strong or primitive Gothic inflection. Under each verb are inserted the present indicative, the preterite first person singular and first person plural, and the participle.

1. Conjugation *Salta*, salto, I leap
 Salta, pret. *sálsalt*, *sálsaltum*, *saltans*
2. *Máita*, abscondo, I cut
 Máita, pret. *máimáit*, *máimáitum*, *mautans*
3. *Hláupa*, curro, I run.
 Hláupa, pret. *hláihlaup*, *hláihlaupum*, *hlaupans*.

4. Slêpa, dormio, I sleep
Slêpa, pret. sâislêp, sâislêpum; slêpans
5. Lala, nridéo, I laugh.
Lála; pret. lálô, lálôum; lálans
6. Giêta, pîoro, I weep or giete, Scottish.
Giêta; pret. gâigîôt, gâigîôtum, giêtans
Sixth Conjugation without reduplication.
7. Svara, juo, I swear
Svara, pret. svôi, svôium, svarans
8. Skema, luceo, I shine
Skema, pret. skam, skumum, skmans.
9. Lauga, mentior, I lie
Lauga, pret. lAug, lugum, lugans
10. Giba, do, I give
Giba, pret. gab, gêbum, gibans
11. Stila, fuor, I steal
Stila; pret. stal, stêlum, stalans
12. Hilpa, adjuvo, I help.
Hilpa; pret. halp, hulpum, hulpan

I have taken these examples in full, because the analogies which they display to the forms of our tongue are interesting to English readers. The Mæso-Gothic is far more perfect in its inflections than any other language of the same stock. In the later dialects they gradually fade away, but still the remains are reducible to the same system.

The weaker form of verbal inflections is, according to Grimm, modern in comparison of the stronger form. For the grounds of this opinion I must refer

the reader to his work ' The preterite is formed by the insertion of a syllable of which *d* is the consonant, and this is regarded by Grimm as an abbreviated auxiliary, derived from the verb to *do*, which in the Old High German is *tun*. Thus *sókida*, I sought, is I "seek—did " The inflections of this verb *tun* are very distinct in the Old High German and appear to give some probability to Dr Grimm's conjecture ⁽¹⁷⁾ as to the origin of the preterperfect tense, in the form which has become most frequently used in the modern German and English languages ' b

NOTE ON PARAGRAPH 1

(17) Grimm's conjecture that *sókida* = I seek—did —The text scarcely puts Grimm's doctrine in its true view, according to which *did* is formed from *do* by reduplication, then placed *after* the verb (to which it gives a past power), then incorporated with it as an inseparable affix, and then acted upon by certain euphonic processes, which eliminate one of the *d*s. Yet this statement scarcely does justice to the hypothesis, inasmuch as the text of Grimm gives us certain forms wherein we find a second *d*. The *Mæso Gothic plural preterite* ends in *-didum*, e.g. *nas-i-déd-um* has *i* *did-uth*, *nas-i-déd-un* from *nas-ja*, and, similarly, *sok-i-déd-um*, etc., and *salb-ó did-um*, etc. from *sók-ja* and *sal-bó*. The same takes place in the *dual* forms, as, *salb-ó-déd-uta*, etc.

Without going further than a mere suspension of judgement as to the accuracy of this derivation, I have suggested (English Language, part iv, chap. xxii) the possibility of the *d* of the past tense being the *d* of the participle, that being the *t* in words like *ice a-t-us*, and the *θ* in words like *οτρυφ-θ-εις*.

* Deutsche Grammatik, th. i., p. 1040

b See p. 885, 1039, 1042, of Grimm's Deutsche Grammatik

PARAGRAPH 2

Preterperfect tense in Greek and Sanskrit.

The formation of the preterfect tense in Greek and in Sanskrit is on principles so similar, that it requires more care to sum up the points in which they differ than those in which they agree. In both, the root, which frequently consists of one syllable, is preserved nearly in its entire state, with a final short vowel added to it, and a short syllable generally prefixed, which is termed the reduplication. In Greek the vowel of the reduplication is always *ε*, but in Sanskrit the vowel is the short one corresponding with that of the verbal root: thus from the root तुष्ट *tuṣṭ*, which forms a verb of nearly the same meaning in Greek and in Sanskrit, the preterite is in one language τέτυπα, and in the other tutopī. The reduplicated consonant in Greek is a tenuis, and in Sanskrit the tenuis or media, when the root begins with an aspirate, and when double consonants are the initials, the first is alone reduplicated. In this last case the two languages just mentioned have consulted euphony more than either the Latin or Teutonic, both of which repeat the double consonants. The principal vowel of the root undergoes a change in the preterperfect, which in Sanskrit is termed *guna* and *vridhhi*. This is analogous to the corresponding change in the Greek old preterperfect, in such forms as μέμνη and οἶδα, and to the

changes above alluded to in the Teutonic and Latin preterites.

The following words will serve to exemplify this form of Sanskrit verbs

ROOT	THIRD PERSON PRESENT	PRETERITE
bhri	bharati	babhiāna,
ti	tarati	tatāra
tup	tupati	tutopa

PARAGRAPH 3

Of the preterperfect in Latin verbs

Many Latin verbs form the preterperfect by reduplication, and there is reason to believe that the number was originally much more considerable. We may regard it as probable, that this was the oldest form of the preterperfect tense in the Latin language, as well as in the cognate idioms.

In some respects the Latin reduplicated preterite agrees with the Teutonic, in others with the Sanskrit, and with both more nearly than with the Greek.

1 Aspirate and double consonants are reduplicated in Latin as in Mæso-Gothic verbs, this is avoided in Greek and Sanskrit. In the Mæso-Gothic we have from the verb, *skautan*, *schelden*, to separate, the following

Skánda, skánskánd, skánskárlum, skándaus

In Latin we have in like manner : °

sciscidi, from scindo

spondeo „ sponsondi not sospondi

fallo „ fefelli not πefelli

2. The vowel of the reduplicated syllable is in Greek always ε, in Mæso-Gothic ái. In Latin as well as in Sanskrit verbs the vowel of the verbal root is reduplicated; as in Sanskrit, the verbal root

mad,	mākes	mamāda,
lish		hlesha,
tup		tutopa,

so in Latin,

pedo	pepedi,
mordeo	momordi,
tundo	tutudi,
curro	cucurri *

In Latin, however, the reduplicated syllable follows the quantity of the verbal root, in Sanskrit it is always short, whatever may be the quantity of the root [as it is also in Latin. ED.]

The following are some of the examples of reduplication yet remaining in Latin verbs

mementi, i.e. memeni	spospondi
momordi	pepedi *
peperi	poposci
pupugi	scisci
tetigi	pepigi, i.e. pepegi
totondi	pepuli
cucurri	cecidi
cecini, i.e. ceceni	cecidi
didici	tutudi
fefelli *	

* The apparent exceptions from this rule seem to admit of explanation. See Grimm, th. 1, p. 1055.

* Pango and πηγυμι being variations of πηγω.

Dr. Grimm has remarked that verbs which change a short vowel in the root or present tense into a long ē in the preterperfect had originally a reduplication. Pango, or rather pago, makes pepigi, but compingo makes compēgi. This proves the analogy of the two forms, and on the model of pago, pepegi, contracted to pēgi, we have

	capiō,	cepi
	ago,	ēgi
frango, &c	frago	fiēgi
	faciō,	fēci
	iaciō,	jēci
	lego,	lēgi
	emo,	ēmi
	venio,	vēm
	edo,	ēdi
	sedeo,	sēdi
	fugio,	fūgi

It is observed in confirmation of this remark, that these verbs have in many instances a reduplication, or, what is allied to it, an internal inflection, in the cognate languages, as *cēpi* resembles *hōf* in Gothic; *fugi*, *πέφυγα*, *lēgi*, *λέλογα*, and *venio*, *vēm*, the Mæso-Gothic verb which is analogous to “come” and “came”

The custom of reduplication in forming the preterite fell into disuse, supplementary methods were found to answer the same purpose, the principal of which were the following

1. The insertion of the letter *s* before the final *i*,
as in

repo,	repsi
lego,	lexi

2. The insertion of the syllable *āv*, *iv*, mutable
into *u*, as

am-av-i
aud-iv-i
doc-u-i

The former of these methods is analogous to an inflection, of which we trace an extensive use, in the cognate languages, the latter is quite peculiar to the Latin. The *av* has been thought to be allied to the *bo* and *bam* of the future and imperfect preterite [*Repsi*, etc., are really aorists *Vid not.* 16. Ed.]

SECTION V

Of the remaining forms of the Verb—Potential, Optative, and Conjunctive moods—Future tenses—Middle and Passive voices

Most of the remaining forms of the verb appear to be simple inflections properly so termed, and not, as some have suspected, compound words. From this remark we must make an exception, as far as regards the pronominal suffixes, on which so much has already been said, for these are, as the reader is well aware, abbreviated words brought into composition with the verbs. With this exception, the moods and

tenses of verbs which are now to be considered may be looked upon as formed in all probability by simple inflection. There are indeed some of these forms which have been thought by late writers to have derived their peculiar shades of meaning, in relation to time and mode, from the insertion or addition of significant particles, or other words of a similar use.* But the instances in which this can be supposed with any degree of probability are, in comparison with others, very few, and the inference with respect to them is but doubtful at best. And in by far the greater number of examples composition of words seems to be out of the question, and it is evident that a mere inflexion has been employed, the original or simple verb having been by design somewhat modified in pronounciation, or by the addition or insertion of a consonant or vowel, so as to impart to it a sense in some mode or circumstance different from the primitive one.

Thus it has often been remarked, that it is a character common to the conjunctive, potential, and optative forms of the verb to change proper vowels, and especially short vowels, into diphthongs. Or

* I allude to Professor Bopp's opinion, and to some other similar conjectures. According to Bopp's, the future tenses are compounds of a verbal root, or of an attributive vowel and certain forms of the verb substantive. This conjecture has been supported with great ingenuity, and has even in its favour a great number of coincidences. But I think it is by no means established. Those, however, who are not acquainted with Professor Bopp's able attempts to analyse the conjugations of verbs, will find their trouble amply repaid in reading his "Conjugations-system der Sanskritsprache," and likewise his observations subsequently published in the *Annals of Oriental Lit.* and still more fully in his *Grammatica Critica Lingue Sanskritæ*.

this fact a somewhat whimsical theory has been founded by the learned and fanciful Professor Murray. He says, "The subjunctive of all Greek, Latin, and Teutonic verbs arose from laying an emphasis expressive of the conditional state of the mind on the last syllable of the verb immediately before the personal pronoun. This emphasis not only drew the accent to the syllable, but also extended it by the insertion of *e* or *o* short, the consequence of protracted pronunciation." "The voice was kept up, and this inserted vowel gradually slid into union with that which supported the pronoun, and formed with it a long sound, expressive of suspense and incomplete indication." "The optative of all tenses had a similar origin. In wishing, we dwell on the word, and give it an unusual emphasis, the sign of strong, lingering, ardent desire." "In grief the emphasis is long, and uttered with a wailing, melancholy tone. The connection between *grief* and *desire* is close and obvious."

εἶθ' ὥς ἡβώοιμι, βίη τέ μοι ἔμπεδος εἴη,
ὥς ὁπότε κρείοντ' Ἀμαρύνκεα θάπτον Ἑπειοί—

"The effects of this state of mind on the medium of thought, are, that the words are protracted, while the consonants rather sink and vanish."

Whatever may be thought of this explanation, the fact to which it relates is undoubtedly observed in the conjugations of Latin, Greek, Sanskrit, and Teutonic verbs. In all these, the substitution of diphthongs, and longer or more numerous

vowel sounds, is characteristic of the optative, potential, and conjunctive moods.

PARAGRAPH 2

Of the future tenses

The formation of future tenses deserves a particular notice

Proper future tenses formed by inflection are entirely wanting in the Teutonic languages. In Latin, Greek, and Sanskrit they are yet extant, and in all these, analogies are to be traced in their formation.

The Sanskrit has two distinct future tenses, which are formed as follows

The first future, or perfect future, is formed by adding *tū* to the verbal root, or rather by inserting it between the root and the pronominal suffix. This syllable is often preceded by an additionally inserted *z*, and in some of the persons it is *tas* rather than *tū*. Thus from the root याच् *yāch*, or rather the verb *yāchāmi*, αἵτεω, we have *yāchitāsmi*, αἰτήσω, or, as I here divide the words,

Present,	yāch-ā-mi
Future,	yāch-i-tās-mi

The second future instead of the syllable *tā* or *tas*, inserts *syā*, as *yāchishyāmi*, or

yāch i-shyā-mi

The ष s is converted into श s^b [and sometimes ष sh] by the Sanskrit rules of euphony.

Future Tenses in Greek

The first future in Greek is formed in a manner very similar to that of the second future in Sanskrit

The termination of the first future seems originally, as it is observed by Matthiæ, to have been the same throughout, εσω from ω. Thus we find ὀλέσω from ὀλω, ἀρέσω from ἄρω. The middle voice ὀλεσομαι would indicate an active ὀλέσομι, which perhaps once existed, and which would be the regular form if the suffix μι had been preserved through the different tenses in Greek as it has been in Sanskrit.

The first future consists therefore in Greek in the insertion of ες before the pronominal suffixes, in analogy with the Sanskrit syā or ishyā

It may be observed, that the terminations of this form of the verb, both in Greek and in Sanskrit, are identical with the future tense of the verb substantive, in Greek ἔσομαι and in Sanskrit syāmi. This is the principal foundation for the hypothesis of Professor Bopp, who considers many modifications of attributive verbs to be derived from a composition of a verbal root with the tenses of the verb substan-

^b The Sanskrit sibilant श is neither s nor sh. It is said to be pronounced by passing the voice, with the tip of the tongue applied to the fore part of the palate, and is represented in Wilkins's Grammar by s. Sh is, perhaps, the mode of expressing it most nearly in our orthography.

tive. If other tenses corresponded with the terminations of the verb substantive so closely as the future, there would be sufficient evidence to support this opinion. At present, we can only regard it as an ingenious conjecture. The Celtic language, however, presents a feature which gives it a degree of additional probability to this we shall have occasion hereafter to advert.

2. The second future in Greek is a slight inflection of the present, as λεγῶ, πιθῶ, from λέγω, πειθω. The present tense is often used for the future by the poets; and this form seems to have been originally a mere change in the accent or emphasis of the present, designed thus to mark a variety in the sense. Some grammarians^o have indeed maintained that the supposed second future is merely a first future in a different form, in which case there would be no second future in Greek. This would be contrary to the analogy of the cognate languages. However, it must be allowed that there is not in Greek; as there is in Latin and in Sanskrit, a second future distinguished from the first by a difference of sense.

Latin Futures

The future tenses in the Latin language are formed in a great variety of ways.

1 The most simple form is a slight modification of the present, regam, reges, reget being substituted

for *rego* (which, according to the analogy already pointed out, was perhaps originally *regim*), *regis*, *regit*. This recalls those languages in which the present tense is used for a future, and the British future *credaw* is nearly like it. It is still more closely allied to the conjunctive present *regam*, *regas*, *regat*. A slight difference in pronunciation was adopted, to mark these varieties in the meaning or in the relations of the verb to time and mode. This is an instance of simple inflection. Here is no place for the hypothesis of compound verbs, or of particles introduced and interpolated.

2 Another mode of giving to verbs a future signification adopted by the Latin grammarians was that of inserting a syllable, a method analogous to that practised in Greek and in Sanskrit conjugations; but instead of the *εσ* or *σ* of the Greek futures, and the *sya* or *ishya* of the Sanskrit, the Latins inserted *er* between the verb and the pronominal suffix, the verb retaining the characteristic of the preterperfect tense; as

rex-er-o, *rex-er-imus*
audiv-er-o, *audiv-er-imus*

The substitution of *r* instead of *s* appears in this instance, as in a great many inflections in the Latin language, to be an innovation, originating either from some preference on account of euphony, or from accidental variation of utterance. The old Latin form was in all probability similar to the Greek, *es* being the syllable interpolated. *Rexeso*

and *rexesimus* gave a harsh and difficult sound, and were softened to *rexero* and *rexerimus*.^d

3. A third species of future tense in Latin verbs arises from the insertion of *b* or rather of *ab*, *eb*, or *ib*. Even this has been referred to the composition of an attributive root with the verb substantive. Recourse has been had here to the verb *fuo*, analogous to *bhū* or *be*, as in the former instance to the verb अस as, *esse*, or *εἶναι*. The terminations of the Latin future *amabo*, *bis*, *bit*, are supposed by Professor Bopp to have been derived from a Latin future of the verb substantive analogous to the Anglo-Saxon *beco*, *bys*, *byth*.

It is remarkable, with respect to both the Latin futures, that a slight change merely of the termination gives rise to a form of the verb, which has a preterite signification, as *amavero* (perhaps originally written *amaverim*, but subsequently distinguished from that conjunctive form) makes *amaveram*, and *amabo* (*amabim*?) makes *amabam*. This circumstance tends to render it most probable that there is nothing in the inserted *ba* or *bo*, which by itself gives either a past or future tense, and that it is merely through conventional use that any precise distinction of time is obtained from this modification of the verb. In Sanskrit and in Greek, as well as in Latin, the future tense is converted into a preterite by a change of the termination, this is connected

^d On the substitution of *r* for *s*, I must refer the reader to sect. vi of chapter ii, in which this subject is considered.

in the two last-mentioned languages with the addition of the augment

The facility indeed with which these preterite forms of the verb, either with a slight modification, or without any change, are adopted with a future meaning, seems remarkable, when we first contemplate it; but the frequent occurrence of a parallel fact in different languages is calculated to lessen our surprise. What can be more strange and apparently anomalous than the changes connected in Hebrew with the use of the *Van Conversivum*? In Hebrew the future imperative, optative, and potential forms are all identified, or nearly so, with each other, or one modification of the verb answers to all.

In like manner we find corresponding forms of the verb, which may be considered as the same identical inflections of the verbal root (if we make allowance for the varieties of orthography and termination proper to the cognate languages, or for the stated interchange of letters between them), denoting in one language a future, and in another a potential, or even a preterite tense, with something of the potential or conjunctive signification attached to it. Thus the Sanskrit future, the Greek *aorist* optative, and the Latin preterpluperfect have nearly the same endings. From the Sanskrit root *yāch* we have in the future,

yāch-ishyāmi

From *aἵρω*, *aor* 1 *opt* *aἵτ -ήσαιμι*

From *quæro* in Latin, *quæres-issem*

In the plural,	ḡäch-ishyāmas
	αἰτ -ήσαιμεν, οἱ μες
	quæc-issemus

Here ishyāmi, ἴσαιμ, and issem, in which the e makes ēmus and ētis long, and was nearly equivalent to a diphthong, afford striking analogies, and are in fact the same form with slight varieties of orthography, but somewhat greater variety in signification.⁽¹⁸⁾

NOTE ON PARAGRAPH 2

(18) *Future Tense* —No question in comparative philology has received less attention than that concerning the origin and development of the future tense, neither does the present note, by any means, profess to make good the deficiency. It merely refers the chief modes by which it is formed to three heads.

1 It is sometimes formed from the present by a mere change of accent. In English we say *I beat you if do not leave off*, etc., wherein *beat* means *will beat*. The so-called second future of the Greek language is, doubtless, a present thus modified in respect to its accent.

In the Anglo-Saxon, *bið*, *bist*, etc., are future rather than present. So are the Sarmatian (Slavono-Lithuanic) forms, *buse*, etc.

Now the root in question means not so much to *be* as to *become*, a fact which again shows how presents are also futures. Things which are *becoming* anything have a certain amount of action to go through before they have *become* it.

Again, things that have anything further to do may fail, as easily as they may succeed, in doing it. Hence, wherever there is futurity, there is contingency as well. This explains the subjunctive, conjunctive, or potential power of the English *be* (See *English Language—on the Verb Substantive*.)

(2) The full explanation in detail of the undoubted affinities between the Latin words like *regam*, *regas*, etc., as *moods*, with

words like *regam, reges*, etc., as tenses, and the similar relations in Greek between the non-augmented moods of the aorist and the first future in general has yet to be given. It is clear, however, that the connection exists, and, also, that the difference between mood and tense is less decided than the ordinary practice of grammarians makes it.

3 The incorporation of a separate root has already been indicated in the text as a mode of forming futures. Such roots may be not only those suggested, but also the adverbs of future time. There are many instances in the ruder languages of this formation.

PARAGRAPH 3.

Middle and Passive Voices

The Sanskrit has in its verbs three voices nearly corresponding with the Greek.

The voices in Sanskrit corresponding with the Greek middle and passive form themselves by a similar change of termination with that of the verbs in μ , as $\delta\acute{\iota}\delta\omega\sigma\iota$, or rather $\delta\acute{\iota}\delta\omega\tau\iota$, is changed into $\delta\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\tau\alpha\iota$, so *bhavati* is converted into *bhavate*. I cannot but believe that the original form of the verb in Sanskrit was

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{bhavāme,} \\ \text{bhavase,} \\ \text{bhavate,} \end{array} \right\} \text{from} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{bhavāmi} \\ \text{bhavasi} \\ \text{bhavati} \end{array} \right.$$

But the first person is, according to the established inflections of the Sanskrit language, *bhave*, instead of *bhavāme*.

I shall not pursue further at present the inflections of verbs in the different voices. The reader will find enough to answer my chief design in a

succeeding chapter, in which examples of the regular verbs are inserted.

The termination most characteristic of passive tenses in Latin, viz *r*, must here be mentioned, as it serves as a point of comparison between the Celtic and the Latin verbs

Another point in which we shall find a relation between the Latin and the Celtic verbs, as likewise between the Greek and Celtic, is the defective state of the inflection of persons in the passive tenses. But we shall again take notice of this circumstance in its proper place ⁽¹⁹⁾

NOTE ON PARAGRAPH 3

(19) *Middle and Passive voices* — Many, perhaps most passives, are originally middle. Many perhaps most middle were originally the verb *plus*, the reflexive pronoun. This eminently the case in the Scandinavian languages.

In the particular case of the Latin language, excellent authorities have maintained that the *r* in *amor* (*I am loved*) is the *s* of *se*, just as is the *s* in *jag kallas* — *I am called*, in Swedish.

CHAPTER VII.

Illustration of the principles developed in the preceding chapter Conjugation of the verb substantive and of attributive verbs, both in the other Indo-European languages and in the Celtic dialects.

SECTION I

General Remarks Analysis of the Verb Substantive in several languages

THE preceding remarks will perhaps be deemed sufficient to explain the general principles of verbal inflection in the languages to which they refer, but before I can proceed to my ultimate object, which is to compare the Celtic verbs with those of the idioms supposed to be cognate with the Celtic language, it is requisite to illustrate the principles now developed by some particular examples. I shall with this view lay before my readers a brief analysis of the verb substantive in Sanskrit, pointing out in the first place the agreements of the Sanskrit with the other languages generally allowed to be allied to it. I shall afterwards endeavour to illustrate in a similar manner the Celtic inflections, and to shew that they manifestly partake in the same general analogies.

I have already observed, in the list of verbal roots contained in a preceding section, that there are in Sanskrit two verbs substantive, of which cognates are found in various idioms. They are the verb अस्मि *asmi*, from the root *AS*,^a corresponding with *esse*

or sum in Latin and εἶμι in Greek, and भवामि bhavāmi from the root bhū, allied to the old Latin verb fuo, and in the sense of *orui, nasci*, which also belongs to this Sanskrit root, to the verb φύω or φῦναι in Greek. There is, I believe, no language in which both of these verbs are extant in a complete state, but they are least defective in Sanskrit, which has lost many tenses of the verb asmi, though it has preserved the whole of bhavāmi. The Persian has two corresponding verbs, *būdan*, and *am* resembling asmi: they are both defective, and each contributes some tenses towards the conjugation of the verb substantive, which is thus made up of their fragments [Rather say that the Persian has the root *b-ū*, and certain personal forms which point to the root *-s*. See p 320. Ed] The Slavonian verb substantive is formed from similar elements, the present tense and those dependent on it are nearly allied to asmi, and the past tenses are derived from *but* or *bud'* the cognate of *būdan* or *bhū*. The Teutonic languages display the same formation. *ist* or *is* belongs to the former, *beon*, *be*, *been*, to the latter element. In Latin *fuo* and *esse* are combined in a similar manner. The Celtic language, as I shall shew in the following section, has one of these verbs in a more perfect state than any other language except the Sanskrit. The verb *bu* or *býdh*, corresponding with *bhū* or *būdan*, is nearly complete, it not entirely so, but there are only fragments, as in other languages, which resemble the cognates of *asmi*.

PARAGRAPH 1.

Verb asmi and its Cognates.

I shall now compare the principal parts of the verb *asmi*, and subjoin some corresponding forms in the cognate languages

Present tense

1. In Sanskrit

	FIRST PERSON	SECOND PERSON	THIRD PERSON
Sing	asmi	asi	asti
Plur	asmah	stha	santi
N These plural forms were originally (?)			
	asmus	astha'	asanti

2. In Greek according to the old forms

Sing	ἐμὶ	ἐσσι	ἐστι
Plur	εἰμὲς	ἐστὲ	ἐντι

3 In Latin

Sing	esum	es	est
Plur	sumus	estis	sunt

4. In Persian

Sing	am	i	ast
Plur	im	id	and

5 Slavonian.^b

Sing	yesm'	yesl	yesť
Plur	yesmi	yesle	sut' for jesut'

6. In Lettish or Lithuanian.^c

Sing	esmi	essi	esti
Plur	esme	este	esti

^b Grimm, 1, p 1064 Vater, p 98^c Grimm, *ibid*

7. In Mæso-Gothic.

Sing.	im	is	1st
Plur.	siyum	siyuth	sind

which according to Dr. Grimm was originally in the plural.

	isum	isuth	isind
or,	isam	isith	isand

It is at once evident, that all these are slight modifications of the same element conjugated by means of the same suffixes. The variation between the different languages is not exceeding such as exists between proximate dialects of the same speech.

The preterimperfect tense is not to be traced with so much regularity. It is in Sanskrit

Sing.	āsam	āsī	āsīt
Plur.	āma	āsta	āsan

In Latin, *esam* was probably the old form of *eram*, for *s*, as we have seen, was often changed into *r*, and *esam* would regularly form *esem* in the subjunctive, which is actually found

Sing.	esam	esās	esat
Plur.	esamus	esatis	esant

The second form of the verb in the arrangement adopted by Sanskrit grammarians is the potential. The potential form of the verb *asmi* bears a strong analogy to the old Latin potential *sicm*, and, as M. Bopp has also shewn, to the Mæso-Gothic potential.

Singular.

Sanskrit,	syām	syās	syāt
Latin,	sicm	sics	siet
Gothic,	siyau ^d	siyais	siyai

Plural.

Sanskrit,	syāma	syāta	syus
Latin,	sicinus	sietis	sient
Gothic,	siyama	siyath	siyaina

It may be observed that all these words have lost the initial vowel *ä* or *ε*, and that if it were restored the preceding forms would bear a near analogy to *ἐσάμῃ*, which, though not extant, would be a regular derivative from the etymon of *ἔσομαι*.

The Sanskrit verb *asmi* has no future, but M. Bopp conjectures, with great probability, that *syāmī*, the adjunct by which a future tense is formed in attributive verbs, is in fact only the obsolete future of the verb *asmi*. A fact strongly favouring this hypothesis is, that a tense of this verb exists in Sanskrit, and is recognized as such, which is only used in forming the preterperfect tense of certain verbs. *Āsa*, *āsītha*, *āsa*, is termed the third preterite or aorist of *asmi*.^o It is joined with *kārayām* from the verb *karomi*, *facio*, *cico*, and forms *kārayāmāsa*, *fecit*, *creavit*.

^d This form is considered by Huges (Thesaur Ling Sept, tom 1) as a future tense, but Dr Grimm has shewn that the Teutonic dialects have no simple future, properly so termed. The potential is, however, used for a future by Ulphilas. See Bopp, in *Annals of Oriental Lit* p 49

^o Wilkins's Sanskrit Grammar p 187

There is only one other tense of the verb *asmi*, which is the imperative

Sing	<i>asāni</i>	<i>edhi</i>	<i>astu</i>
Plur	<i>asāma</i>	<i>sta</i>	<i>santu</i>

Compare *astu*, with ἔστω, *esto*; *sta* with ἑστέ, *este*, and *santu* with *sunto*. The second person, *edhi*, bears, as we shall see, a strong analogy to some of the modifications of the verb substantive in the Celtic

PARAGRAPH 2.

Verb *bhavāmi* and its cognates

I shall now give the principal parts of the Sanskrit verb *bhavāmi*, which is entire, though its cognates in most other idioms are only extant in fragments.

1 Present tense

Sing	<i>bhavāmi</i>	<i>bhavasi</i>	<i>bhavati</i>
Plur	<i>bhavāmas</i>	<i>bhavatha</i>	<i>bhavanti</i>

This tense exemplifies the personal endings in their complete state

2. Potential

Sing	<i>bhaveyam</i>	<i>bhaves</i>	<i>bhavet</i>
Plur	<i>bhavema</i>	<i>bhaveta</i>	<i>bhaveyus</i>

This form corresponds with the Greek in *αιμι, ais, ai, αιμεν, αιτε, αιεν*

3. Imperative.

Sing	<i>bhavāmi</i>	<i>bhava</i>	<i>bhavatu</i>
Plur	<i>bhavāma</i>	<i>bhavata</i>	<i>bhavantu.</i>

4. First Preterite or Imperfect.

Sing	<i>abhavam</i>	<i>abhavas</i>	<i>abhavat</i>
Plur	<i>abhavāma</i>	<i>abhavata</i>	<i>abhavan</i>

This tense has the abbreviated form of personal endings

N The preceding forms, considered as derived from the present tense, display that modification in the root (as bhava for bhu) which marks the different conjugations. The remainder, which may be compared with the tenses of the ἵστημι formed from στάω, have the root in its original state, and with respect to these tenses, there is only one conjugation in Sanskrit verbs ¹

5. Second Preterite or Aorist.

Sing abhūvam abhūs abhūt

Personal endings in the abbreviated form

This corresponds with ἔφυν, ἔφυσ, ἔφυν.

6. Reduplicate Preterite.

Sing babhūva babhūvitha babhūva

Plur babhūvima babhūva babhūvus

|| This corresponds very closely with the Greek πέφνα, πέφνας, πέφνε, πέφναμεν, πέφνατε, πέφνασι

Babhūvima in its termination is allied to fuimus from fuo *

7 First Future.

Sing bhavitāsmi

The personal endings nearly as in the present tense

The ten conjugations or forms of Sanskrit verbs differ from each other only in those tenses which are formed from the present. The first modifies the root and interposes *a* between it and the suffixes, as भिाव-ि-मि from भि. The second subjoins the suffixes immediately, as अस्मि from अस्. The third reduplicates in the present, as दादामि (δίδωμι) from दा. The fourth inserts *yī* between the root and suffixes, as दामयामि (domo) from दाम (tame, domitus). The fifth inserts *ni* after the root, and corresponds exactly with the conjugation of क्षेद्य-न्-मि. The sixth modifies the termination of the root somewhat differently from the first, as मरियते (moritur) from the root मरि. The seventh inserts *ni* in the root, as in Latin we find jungo from the root jug-um. The eighth resembles the fifth, but adds only *u* to roots ending in *n*. The ninth adds *na* to the root, and is analogous to the form of φθάνω, ἐλεείνω. The tenth inserts *s* in the root, and inflects like the first. These analogies have been pointed out fully by Dr Muiray (Hist of European Languages)

* As by Ennius, "Nos sumus Romani, qui fuimus ante Rudini "

8. Precative.

Sing bhūyāsam

The personal endings abbreviated

9. Second Future.

Sing bhaviṣyāmi

The personal endings in full In Latin *fuissem* nearly approaches to the above form, or perhaps more closely to the following

10. Conditional.

Sing Abhaviṣyam

Personal endings abbreviated

Infinitive Mood

Bhavitum

The infinitive mood in Sanskrit bears an analogy to the Latin *supine*

Participles.

Adverbial Participle, bhūtwā

Passive, bhūtah

Pret Reduplicate, babhūvah

Present, bhavat

Future, bhaviṣyat

The participles are given without their terminations, which are added in declining them, and resemble those of adjectives.

The preceding forms are given by grammarians as those of the active voice, but this verb is inflected through two other voices, analogous to the middle and passive. Of these I shall only extract the present, the reduplicate preterite, and the participles.

Middle Voice or *Ātmanepadam*.

Sing	bhave	bhavase	bhavato
Dual	bhavāvahe	bhavethe	bhavete
Plur	bhavāmahe	bhavadhve	bhavante

In this we have only to supply the first personal ending **मि**, which the analogy of the other persons seems clearly to suggest, and the whole form will correspond nearly with the Greek

Reduplicate Preterite.

Sing	babhūve	babhūvishe	babhūve
Dual	babhūvivahe	babhūvāthe	babhūvāte
Plur	babhūvīmahe	babhūvidve	babhūvire

Passive Present Tense.

Sing.	bhūye	bhūyase
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Personal endings as in the middle voice

Reduplicate Preterite.

Same as in the Middle Voice

Participles in the Middle Voice

Present Bhavamānah bhavamānā bhavamānam

Reduplicate Preterite Babhūvānah, ā, am.

Future Bhavishyamānah

Passive Present bhūyamānah, ā, am

The terminations would be represented correctly thus; *μάνος, μάνα, μάνον* and it is needless to remind the reader of the near correspondence of these forms with the Greek.

SECTION II

Analysis of the Celtic Verb Substantive

The verb substantive in Welsh grammars appears to a learner as if made up of the fragments of two

or three defective roots, like the verbs substantive of other European languages. But in reality there is in the Welsh a verbal root, which is cognate with the Sanskrit bhū and the Persian būdan, and which is like the former, perfect, or very nearly so, having as many extant forms as the Welsh verbs generally possess. This verb is in the infinitive mood bōd, and bōd may perhaps be regarded as the root, although Dr Davies gives that term to the third person singular of the preterite, which is bu, fuit. The third person of the future is, however, often the root of Welsh verbs, and this in the verb substantive is bydh, erit. Bydh, if not the root, is the basis on which most of the modifications of this verb are formed.

Regular verbs have in Welsh, besides the infinitive and imperative moods, five distinct tenses in forms: these are two futures, one of which is indicative and the other conditional or subjunctive; a preterimperfect, 'preterperfect, and preterpluperfect tense. All these forms are extant in the verb bōd. They are as follows

PARAGRAPH 1.

1. Future Indicative

Sing	bydhav	bydhi	/	bŷdhi
Plur	bydhwn	bydhwch		'bydhant

N It must be observed that the Welsh *y* in the penultima is a short *u*. The ending *av* in Welsh stands for *am* in Erse, and the *v* is equivalent to *mh*, or is a secondary form of *m*.

It may be worth while before we proceed further to compare with this the future tense of the verb substantive in the Russian, as a specimen of resemblance in one of the eastern branches of the European languages.

Sing	budu	budet'	budut'
Plur	budem'	budete	budut'

Compare also the potential form of the verb būdan, to be, in Persian

Sing	būdamī	būdi	būdi
Plur	būdīmī	būdidi	būdandī

2. Future Potential, Conditional or Subjunctive.

Sing.	bydhwyr	bydhych	bydho
Plur	bydhyom	bydhyoch	bydhyout.

This form is varied as follows

Sing	bythwyr	bythych	bytho, etc
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and contractedly thus

Sing	bwyv	bÿch	bô
Plur	bôm	bôch	bôut

Compare with the preceding the indefinite or subjunctive form in the Persian, which is also termed a future

Sing	būvam	būvi	būvad
Plur	būvim	būvid	būvand

3. Preterimperfect.

Sing	bydhwyr	bydhit	bydhai
Plur	bydhyem	bydhech	bydheut

This likewise is contracted by dropping the dh, as bawn for bydhwyn.

N This form is considered by Dr Davies as appropriated to the subjunctive mood, *oedhwn*, which is derived from another root being used in the indicative. In regular verbs, in general, this tense belongs rather to the subjunctive than the indicative.

Compare with the preceding the preterite of the verb substantive in Persian

Sing	būdam	būdi	būd
Plur	būdim	būdid	būdand

4 Preterperfect Tense.

Sing	1 būm, poetice buum and buym Lat fui (ohm fuim ?)	
	2 buost	fursti
	3 bu	fuit
Plur	1 buom	fumus
	2 buoch	fustis
	3 buont and buant	fuerunt

N The relation of these inflections to the Latin is obvious.

In Greek and in Sanskrit the forms most allied to this preterite are the aorists, as,

Sing	abhūvam	abhūs	abhūt,
	ἔφυν	ἔφυσ	ἔφν,
Plur	abhūma	abhūta	abhūvan,
	ἐφύμεν	ἐφύτε	ἐφύσαν

5 Preterpluperfect Tense.

The preterpluperfect tense bears also a near resemblance to the corresponding form in Latin, and this is still more striking if we restore the *r* in the place of *r*, where we have reason to believe that it originally stood.

LATIN	WELSH	LATIN	WELSH
fucsam	bhuaswn	fucsamus	bhuesym
fuesas	bhuasit	fucsatis	bhucsyh
fucsat	bhuasai	fucsant	bhucsynt

Imperative Mood.

Sing	2 bydh, be thou	3 bydhed, boed, bid
Plur	bydhwn	bydhwch bydhant

Infinitive Mood.

bôd

Persian, būdan, Russian, but'

The preceding are all the forms properly belonging to the verb bôd in the active voice, and, as before observed, they are as many as belong to any regular verb in Welsh.

Before we proceed further, it will be worthwhile to compare the present tense of the verb substantive in the Erse dialect of the Celtic, with a corresponding form in the Slavonic language. The Erse has a present tense properly so called, although it is wanting in Welsh.

The infinitive mood and the root of this verb in Erse is beith, to be. The following is the negative form of the present tense

1. In the Erse, properly so termed, or Irish Celtic.

Sing	Plural
1 <i>ni fhuil</i>	<i>ni fhuilmid</i>
2 <i>ni fhuilth</i>	<i>m fhuilthidh</i>
3 <i>ni fhuil</i>	<i>m fhuilidh</i> *

* Gaelic (i.e. Irish) Grammar, by E. O'C —, printed by J. Barlow, Dublin, 1808

2. In the Gaelic of Scotland.

Sing	Plural
1 ni bheil mi	ni bheil sinn
2 ni bheil thu	ni bheil sibh
3 ni bheil e	*ni bheil iad ^b

Conditional form of the verb 'buit', to be, in Russian

Sing	Plural
1 ya bui bule	mu bui buh
2 tu bui bule	vu bui buh
3 one bui bule	oni bui buh ^c

Passive Voice

The Celtic grammarians, like the Sanskrit, distinguish passive forms of the verb substantive. The passive voice, however, in the Celtic, has only the third person singular throughout the moods and tenses

1 Future Indicative

bydhu

2. Future Subjunctive.

bydher, byther, and contractedly, bacu

Note With byther or bydhu the Latin *futurus* is evidently cognate

3. Preterimperfect.

bydhd, contracted beid

Note Compare the Sanskrit, bhūyate

~~4 Preterperfect~~

buwyd

Note Compare the Sanskrit bhūtw

^b Grammar prefixed to the Gaelic Dictionary published by order of the Highland Society

^c Llemens de la Langue Russe, Petersbourg, 1768, p 133. Praktische Grammatik der Russischen Sprache, von D. Johann Severin Vater, Leipzig, 1814, Tab 7

5. Proterperfect

'buasid and buesid

Note Compare in Latin *fuisse* or rather *fuisset*, the old form of *fuert*

PARAGRAPH 2.

Of defective verbs used as verbs substantive in the Celtic dialects.

Besides the verb *bôd*, which we have compared with its cognates, there are other defective verbs in the Celtic dialects used as parts of the verb substantive. In the Welsh it has been remarked that regular verbs want a present tense properly so termed. In fact, the Welsh grammarians give the denomination of a future to a particular form of the verb, which is used with both a future and present signification; and it is perhaps somewhat doubtful to which tense it properly belongs. That it is capable of expressing a present signification, without any metaphor or reference to the future, is fully evident from the instances adduced by the Welsh grammarian *Di Davies*, who observes that, in the Creed, the expression "*Credo in Deum Patrem*" is rendered by "*Credav yn Nuw Dâd*," and that in conversation "*Mi a welodd hwn*" "*I see*," and "*Beth modhi dy*," "*what sayest thou?*"

The following forms are considered as belonging to the present tense.

1. *Sydd*, and by apocope *sy*; *est*, *is*. This is used indefinitely in all numbers and persons

2. Mac, est } only the third person extant.
 Maent, sunt, }
- 3 Ocs, est This has no inflections, and is used only as a third person singular
4. Yw, pronounced yū, est This is also used in the same way as sydh, and it is likewise inflected, as follows

Singular.

- 1 wyv, perhaps originally *yuyv*
 2 wyt or wyd
 3 yw

Plural

- 1 ym 2 ych 3 ynt

There is another form of yw, with a sort of reduplication, thus

- | | | | |
|------|---------|---------|---------|
| Sing | 1 ydwyv | 2 ydwyt | 3 ydyw |
| Plur | 1 ydym | 2 ydych | 3 ydynt |

There is a poetical form yttwyv, yttwyt, etc.

Passive Form

Welsh grammarians distinguish likewise a passive form of this verb. It is as follows

In the poets, and in the dialects of South Wales and Powys, ys

The poets have also ydis, it is, comparatively ydys

Note It must be observed that the Welsh *ys* is pronounced like *us* in English, and exactly is the root अस *as*, in Sanskrit

The same root slightly modified, viz is or isi, is

extant in the Erse and Scottish dialects of the Celtic;^d as .

Sing	is mi, or is misi, I am		
	is tu, thou art		
	is e, he is		
Plur	1 is sinn	2 is sibh	3 is iad °

Preterimperfect tense, in Welsh.

1. Active or variable form

Sing	1 oedhwn	2 oedhit or oedhyt	3. oedh
Plur	1 oedhym or oedhem	2 oedhych or oedhech	3 oedhynt or oedhent

2 Passive or invariable form.

oedhud ..

Cognates

The form *ys*, which is perhaps the real etymon, is precisely the root in Sanskrit and in the European languages, which, adding the pronominal suffix always wanting in Welsh in the third person singular, as well as in the passive form, make of the same word, *ἔστί*, *est*, *ist* ⁽²⁰⁾

Note It is remarkable that the verb substantive has forms appropriated to the present tense, while all other Welsh verbs are destitute of them. This may be accounted for. There being two distinct forms, and each having that form which is used, as we have seen, in the generality of verbs, sometimes with a future and sometimes with a present signification, probably founded on convenience, at length appropriated the use of one of them to the future, and the other to the present

^d Thuy's English-Irish Dictionary

^e Shy's Analysis of the Gaelic Language

tense Hence bŷdh came to express "*it will be*," and sydh, ys, and oes, "*it is*," while, in respect to attributive verbs, which have a single form, the ambiguity still remains

NOTE ON SECTIONS I AND II

(20) *The Verb Substantive*—The author to whom we owe the important discovery that the pronoun of the personal endings of the verb was in the oblique rather than the nominative case, has also illustrated the nature of the verb substantive. In a series of papers in the third and fourth volumes of the *Transactions of the Philological Society* (to which the reader is referred), he has shown that, over a wide extent of language, the verb substantive is the adverb of time or place. Speaking roughly, *I call* = *calling my here*

SECTION III

Inflection of a regular verb in Welsh through its moods and tenses

The root or origin of a verb in Welsh is, as the learned Dr. Davies remarked, for the most part a noun, as *dyse*, *doctrina*, *dyscars*, *docui*, *câr*, *amicus*; *cairav*, *amo vel amabo*. This substantive, adds the same writer, is generally identical with the third person singular of the future indicative (as in Hebrew the third of the pretente is the root), or with the second of the imperative, which forms are for the most part the same.

In some verbs, however, the third person of the pretente is the root, as *aeth*, *daeth*.

Indicative Mood, Present Tense

There is, according to the Welsh grammarians,

no present tense in attributive verbs, and this tense is supplied by a circumlocution, as

wy yn caru, literally, *εἰμὶ ἐν τῷ φιλεῖν*, I am loving

Note All the other tenses may be formed by a similar circumlocution

Preterimperfect Tense.

Sing	1	carwn	2	carit	3	carai
Plur	1	carem	2	carech	3	carent

A tense seldom used in the indicative

Preterperfect Tense

Sing	1	ceras, <i>or</i> ketais	2	ceiaist	3	ceioth
Plur	1	carasom	2	carasoch	3	carasant ^a

The principle on which this and the following tense are formed seems to be the insertion of the syllable *as* or *ais* between the root and the personal endings, and a change of the radical vowel in a mode analogous to the Sanskrit form *guna*. Both these changes have been traced in the inflection of verbs in the Sanskrit and European languages. And the modification of the vowel by *guna* is, in Sanskrit, as in Welsh, confined to particular persons in the tense.

Preterimperfect Tense^a

Sing	1	carasom	2	carasit	3	carasan
Plur	1	carasom	2	carasech	3	carasent

^a See Dr. Davies's Grammar, entitled, *Antique Tongue Britannie & Rudimenta*, from which and from the grammar prefixed to Richards's Dictionary, the following as well as the preceding conjugations of Welsh verbs are extracted.

Future Tense

Sing	1 carav	2 ceir	3 câr
Plur	1 carwn	2 ceirwch	3 carant

Imperative Mood

Sing	1 —	2 car	3 cared
Plur	1 carwn	2 ceirwch	3 carant

Potential, Optative, and Subjunctive Mood

Present Tense wanting

Preterimperfect Tense

Sing	1 carwn	2 ceir	3 carai
Plur	1 carwn	2 ceirwch	3 carant

Poetic Form

Plur	1 ceiryn	2 ceirych	3 ceirynth
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Preterperfect and Preterpluperfect

Sing	1 caraswn	2 carasit	3 carasai
Plur	1 caraswn	2 carasch	3 carasent

Or, Poetic Form

Plur	1 caesyn	2 caesych	3 caesynth
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Future Tense

Sing	1 carwys	2 cerych	3 caro
Plur	1 carom	2 cerych	3 caront

Infinitive Mood

caru, amaro

This one form, taking various prefixes, as yn caru, in amando, serves the purpose of Infinitive, Gerunds, and Supines

• *Passive Voice*

The Welsh language has a proper passive voice,^a but the tenses have no variety of endings to distinguish the persons

Indicative Mood, Present Tense

Formed by a circumlocution, the infinitive used as a gerund, being constructed with the passive form of the verb substantive, as

y i vdys yn	{	vy ngharu, amon
		dy gau, amarus
		ei gau, amatur

Note Literally εἰμὶ ἐν τῷ μὲν φιλεῖν, etc

The plural is singularly formed, but the future is likewise used as a present tense

Preterimperfect Tense

Cend vi, ti, ev, m, chwi, hwynt

Preterperfect Tense

Carwyd vi, ti, etc Amatus, sum, es, est, etc

Preterpluperfect Tense

Carasid, or caesid, vi, ti, etc

Future Tense

Sm, Ceter vi, ti, ev

Plur Cern m, chwi, hwynt

^a In the Welsh is in the number of tenses in the active voice, the Celtic language is poorer than the Teutonic. In the latter, according to Dr Grimm, the Mero-Gothic is the only dialect that preserves any remains of a passive voice, and in it only the present tense indicative and subjunctive is extant. The following are examples galeikôla, it is liked, galeikozau, thou mayest be commended, hantandi, we are called, halvandin, they may be hidden. Grimm's D. Gr. m. p. 855. There are likewise some indications of a middle voice in the Gothic version.

Imperative Mood

Sing and Plur Carer vi, di, ev, ni, chwî, hwynt

Potential Mood, Present Tense

Sing and Plur Cenn vi, di, etc

Preterimperfect Tense

Sing and Plur Cend vi, di, etc

Preterpluperfect Tense

Sing and Plur Caresid vi, di, etc

Future Tense

Sing and Plur Carer vi, di, etc

Participles

Caredig	}	i dhyn,	amans homin
		g m dhyn,	amatus ab homine
		dyn,	amatus vel dilectus hominis

Canidwy, amandus

Note This form is nearly analogous to the Sanskrit adverbial participle bhū-twā

Such are the inflections of passive verbs in the Welsh language. They contain but a few instances of interpolated syllables, and those have been already remarked. The greater part of these inflections consists, excluding the personal endings or affixes, of slight variations in the final syllables, and chiefly in the vowels, very analogous to the changes which distinguish the moods and tenses of the passive voice of Latin verbs, particularly in the third conjugation.

SECTION IV

Conjugation of a regular Verb in Erse

Present Tense, Indicative Mood

Verb, Cesaim or kesaim, I torment

Note The root of the verb is said to be the first person of the present tense, the last syllable being cut off

Sing 1	Cesaim	2 cesair	3 cesaidh
Plur 1	Cesamaid or cesam	2 Cesthaí	3 cesaid

Preterite

Sing 1	Do chésas	2 chésas	3 chés
Plur 1	Do chesamai or do chessam	2 chesabhai	3 { chesadar or chessad

Note It may be perceived that the form of the present cesaim nearly corresponds with that which the Welsh grammarians term a future tense terminating in *av*, and that the preterite in *as* agrees with the Welsh preterite in *ais*. The Erse language has adopted a peculiar form for a future tense, made by inserting a syllable *fa* between the root and the personal endings. This insertion, however, is not used in all verbs

Future Tense.

Sing 1	Cesfad	2 cesfair	3 cesfaidh
Plur 1	Cesfamaid or cesfam	2 cesfandhe	3 cesfaid

Imperative.

Sing 1	—	2 ces	3 cesadh
Plur 1	Cesam	2 cesaidhe	3 cesaid or cesadis

Potential Mood

Preterimperfect Tense

Sing. 1. Do chesfamn	2 chesfa	3 chesfadn
Plur 1 Do chesfamair	2 chesfaidhe	3 chesfaidis

Infinitive Mood

Cesadh or do chesadh, to torment

Note The different tenses have another form without the personal endings, in which case the personal pronouns are immediately subjoined

Passive Voice

Indicative Mood, Present Tense.

Cestar me, thu, é, inn, ibh, iad

Note As in Welsh, only one form in the passive for all the pronouns

Preterite.

Do chesadh me, thu, etc

Future.

Cesfaidhe me, thu, etc., or cestai me.

Imperative

Cestai me, thu, etc

Potential, Preterimperfect

Do chesfaidhe me, thu, etc

Infinitive

Do bheir cesta, to be tormented.

Participle

Cesta, tormented.

For the varieties and irregularities of the verbs in the Erse, as well as of the Welsh, I must refer to the grammars of those languages.

SECTION V

Concluding observations on the Celtic Verbs, with general remarks on the grammatical peculiarities of the Celtic languages

The observations made in the two last chapters allow us to conclude that the inflection of verbs in the Celtic dialects, excluding for the present the consideration of suffixes, or the systems of personal endings, which were previously compared, is founded on principles similar to those which prevail in the Sanskrit and in several European languages. The Celtic verbs do not display any traces of the pretense by reduplication, which is so remarkable a feature in the eastern branches of the Indo-European stock of languages, and which is also found in the Latin and Teutonic, but they change the middle vowels in a mode analogous to that which these four languages possess, under the form termed *guna* by Sanskrit grammarians, and they interpolate similar consonants or syllables for the purpose of distinguishing mood and tenses, the varying terminations, particularly in the passive voice, being closely analogous to those of the other old European idioms, and especially to Latin.

When we connect the consideration of these analogies with the results formerly obtained on comparing the systems of personal endings or suffixes, it will perhaps not be going too far to say, that the

whole structure of inflections in the Celtic dialects is founded on principles similar to those which are the groundwork of verbal conjugations in the other languages compared with them

The principal affections which words undergo in the construction of sentences in the Celtic languages, may be referred to two heads, first, interchanges between cognate letters on a principle which we have compared with that of sandhi, and, secondly, the inflections of verbs. In these consists a great part likewise of the peculiarity of the Sanskrit language. In both respects there is a remarkable congruity between the Celtic and the Sanskrit. There is a third series of variations in words common to the Sanskrit and several European idioms, in which the Celtic dialects are more defective than some other ancient languages of Europe and of the East, I mean the declensions of nouns.

Welsh nouns make their plural number nearly on the same principle as several of the European languages. They add terminations in *i*, *au*, *ion*, etc. and they vary the interior vowels of words.

Welsh nouns have no cases properly so called, but the want of them is supplied by prepositions which have not coalesced with the words governed by them, as they appear in other languages, to have done in such a manner as to give origin to cases.^a

^a The different forms of *sanjā* and *sandhi* occupy a considerable space in the Sanskrit grammars of *Viśvācāra* and *Yāgyavalkya*.

^b Such at least, according to the opinion defended by *Poppo*, is the origin of Sanskrit cases, and therefore also of Greek and Latin, which so nearly resemble

In the Erse dialect nouns have a very peculiar mode of declension. The following may serve as an example

An bard, a poet.

Sing	Nom	an bard,	Plur	Nom	na baird,
	Gen	an bhaird,		Gen	na mbhard,
	Dat	o'n mbard,		Dat	o na bardaibh,
	Acc	an bard,		Acc	na barda,
	Voc	a bhand		Voc	a bharda

It is worth while to notice particularly the dative plural, which generally terminates in *aibh*, though this perhaps admits of a variety, for it is given by Lhuyd in *uibh*. The terminations in *uibh* or *aibh* are plainly related to the old Latin dative, in *obus* and *abus*, which was probably the genuine and original form of this case in Latin. The Sanskrit datives plural end in *ābhyas* or *ābhyah*, or at least in *bhyas* after a vowel, as राजभ्यस *rājabhyas*; Latin, *regibus*; Erse, *righaibh* or *rioghaibh*.

SECTION VI

General Inference

I have thus laid before my readers the most obvious and striking analogies between the Celtic

them. Professor J. Grimm, however, who has examined, with a view to this question, the cases of the Mæso-Gothic and other Teutonic dialects, seems inclined to a different opinion, as far as those languages are concerned. He concludes his inquiry into this subject (Bedeutung der Casusflexion) with the remark—"Die Kasuszeichen bleiben mir ein geheimnisvolles Element das ich lieber jedem Wort zuerkennen will, als es von einem auf alle übrigen leiten." Th. 1 p. 835

dialects, and the languages which are more generally allowed to be of cognate origin with the Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin. On the facts submitted to them, they will form their own conclusion. Probably few persons will hesitate in adopting the opinion, that the marks of connexion are too decided and extensive to be referred to accident or casual intercourse, that they are too deeply interwoven with the intimate structure of the languages compared, to be explained on any other principle than that which has been admitted by so many writers in respect to the other great families of languages belonging to the ancient population of Europe, and that the Celtic people themselves are therefore of eastern origin, a kindred tribe with the nations who settled on the banks of the Indus, and on the shores of the Mediterranean and of the Baltic. It is probable that several tribes emigrated from their original seat in different stages of advancement in respect to civilization and language, and we accordingly find their idioms in very different degrees of refinement, but an accurate examination and analysis of the intimate structure and component materials of these languages, ~~are~~ still capable of affording ample proofs of a common origin.

My present inquiry has been professionally confined to language, and I must refer to my former work for the confirmations which the inferences now deduced may obtain from other sources.

NOTE ON THE SEMITIC LANGUAGES

At the conclusion of a work designed to illustrate the mutual affinity of those idioms which are termed collectively Indo-European, it will not be improper to add a few remarks on the relation between the latter and two other families of languages, which have co-existed with them from the earliest periods of history.

One of these is the class of idioms termed by German philological writers, *Semitic Languages*. This designation was, I believe, first suggested by Eichhorn, who has remarked that the three principal branches into which the idioms belonging to this class divide themselves—viz. the Hebrew or the dialect of Palestine and Phœnicæ, the Arabic, and the Aramaean or northern Semitic spread over Syria and Mesopotamia—are as nearly related to each other as the Ionæ, Æolic, and Doric dialects of Greek.^a The term *Semitic* has been thought by some to be objectionable, on the ground that several of the nations who spoke the languages so denominated, in common with the descendants of Shem, were of Hamite origin, as the Phœnicians or Canaanites. It has, however, got into general use, and must, therefore, be retained. Schlozer,^b the learned editor of Nestor's annals, has proposed on similar grounds to name the Indo-European dialects *Japhetic languages*, most of the nations by whom they are spoken having descended, as it is generally believed, from Japhet. We might perhaps,

^a Einleitung in das Alte Testament, von Joh. G. Eichhorn, B. i., p. 19. Dritt. Ausg.

^b A. J. Schlozer, von den Children. Repertorium für biblische und morgenländische Literatur, th. 8.

with less hesitation, apply the term *Hamite* to the third family of languages, to which I have alluded. I refer principally to the dialects of the old Egyptian speech, the Coptic, Sahidic, and Bashmunic, including *conjecturally*, until the mutual relations of these languages shall have been more fully investigated, several idioms spoken by races of Africa, in whose history marks are to be found of connection with the ancient subjects of the Pharaohs. One of these is the dialect of the Nouba, Barábia or Berberins of the Upper Nile, a race who strikingly resemble the ancient Egyptians in their physical characters, as we know by comparing the present Berberins with the paintings and mummies preserved in the Egyptian catacombs. They are probably the offspring of the ancient Ethiopians of Meioe, who in a later age were the subjects of queen Candace. Another race, much more extensively spread in Africa, are the descendants of the Labyans. The Showiah, spoken by the Kabyles among the Tunisian mountains, and the Amazigh of the Berbers and the Shilha of mount Atlas, are dialects of their language, which has been traced from the oasis of Siwah to the Atlantic ocean, and which seems also to have been the idiom of the Guanches in the Canary islands, whose curiously desiccated mummies bear, as Blumenbach has shewn, much resemblance to those of the Egyptians, and indicate a very ancient connection.

It seems to be the prevalent opinion among philological writers of the present time, that the three classes of languages above referred to, namely, the Indo-European, the Semitic, and the Egyptian dialects, are entirely unconnected with each other, and betray no traces even of the most remote affinity. A late writer, whom I have before

* Researches into the Physical History of Mankind, vol. 1.

† Blumenbach's Decades Crurorum.

cited, seems to hold this opinion in a very decided manner in reference to the Semitic and Indo-European idioms.

"It has been asserted," says Col Vans Kennedy, "that the Greek contains more Arabic words than is generally supposed, but until these words are produced, and their identity established, I must doubt the correctness of this assertion, for I have never been able to discover any such identical terms." He concludes, that "the portions of Asia which comprises Arabia and Syria was peopled, or at least inhabited from time immemorial, by a distinct race of men, who spoke a language peculiar to themselves, and that this language, with its cognate dialects, has been at all times confined to these countries, and that it never has extended its influence beyond their limits, except to a small part of Africa."

It must be allowed, that the Semitic dialects constitute a very distinct department of languages, which can by no means be associated or brought into the same class with the Indo-European idioms, yet it is by far too much to affirm that there are no traces of connection between the two classes. In the preceding remarks upon the Indo-European languages, some features have been pointed out which display a remarkable analogy to the well-known characters of the Hebrew and its cognate dialects, I shall only instance the system of pronominal suffixes. This is one point in which the Celtic, at the same time that it appears to be the least artificial and grammatically cultivated of the Indo-European languages, forms an intermediate link between them and the Semitic, or perhaps indicates a state of transition from the characters of one of these classes of languages to those of the other.

In my work on the Physical History of Mankind, I ventured to remark, that a very considerable number of the vocables belonging to the Semitic dialects, may be

recognized in some of the Indo-European languages. It would be foreign to the object of the present work to enter at large into a proof of this opinion, but I shall here adduce a few instances of undoubtedly cognate words, which will be sufficient to render it probable that a much larger number may be discovered by an extensive and accurate research.

Among the first ten numerals there are a few terms which appear to be cognate

SEMITIC DIALECTS	INDO-EUROPEAN LANGUAGES
1 echad (Heb)	eka (Sanskrit)
	yak or ik (Pers)
3 Ordinal in Chald	Ordinal in Sanskrit
תְּלִיתִי thrithy (Dan ii 39)	tritiya
6 shesh (Heb)	shash (Sansk)
7 sheveng (Chald)	seven, sibun, etc (Germ)

The following are some verbal roots and nouns which are evidently of the same origin. Among them are verbs which nearly resemble the two verbs substantive already traced in the Indo-European language

בִּית bith from בִּית bith	berth (Eisc)
((Chald) to tarry, dwell (Dan	býdh bôd (Welsh)
vi 18) often used in the Targum for לָוַן	būdan (Pers)
In Arabic this word is لَوَّنَ lāw, or لَوَّنَ lāw,	bhū (Sansk)
to tarry, be situated	be, been (Teut.)

But the verb in Hebrew which closely corresponds with the Indo-European verb substantive, and is in fact identical with it, is יָשָׁה yesh, he is, in Arab أَنَسَ is

It can hardly be doubted that יָשָׁה is a real cognate of the Indo-European verb. See page 221, above

is (Eisc)
ys (Welsh)
as (Sanskrit)
etc, etc

INDO-EUROPEAN LANGUAGES

khól (whole, all)	ὅλος
hôr, horim, hori (mountain)	hólh (Welsh)
lâsh (hon)	ὄρος, ὄροι
lôm (people)	λέων
luach (a stone table)	λεώς
lung (throat, swallow)	luch (a flat stone)
ton, toni (child)	λίθος
keran (child)	lung, lingu
gâni (child)	ταῦρος, ταῦροι
serer, in Chald ארעא—ugla	corru, κέρας
(y being, however, often multi- table into d, which would make arda	gwr, yu
עבי gnabi, (clouds)	cidu
	erth
	dharu, daru
	terru
	nubh du (Sansk)
	nubes
נער pronounced Nēr in Ori- gen's Hexapla Nos n i (i youth)	nuth (Sansk)
נערה—naerali, puella	ἀνήρ
ganar	nui (Sansk)
chetoneth	γάμος
sepel (Jud v 25), (a cup)	χιτών
y yim	simpulatu
	yimui

Here we find ¹standing for the digamma φ van. An insertion of the van will convert many Hebrew into Indo-European words, as

2 yadang (know), in Pih yad-	vidam, εἶδεν
daug	οἶδα, veda
3 halak	walk
1 rong (evil)	wrong
5 chiva (an animal), chavah	vivo, viva,
(life)	jīva (Sanskrit)
6 ragang	ρήγνυμι, liango, i.e. liango
kúm (arise, come)	komm, come
laat (to hide, secret)	latco, λήθε

SEMITIC DIALECTS	INDO-EUROPEAN LANGUAGES
arar, aru, ar (cure)	<i>ἄρα, ἀράομαι</i>
ād	ad, at
lakak, also lakhak and likhak	lih (Sansk) <i>λείχω</i> , lieh
𐤀𐤋 ud	ndas, ud (Sansk) <i>ὑδωρ</i> , etc
thuggenu (Gen iii 5)	<i>θιγγάνετε</i> (Gen iii 5)
tardemah ex iadam.	tiaum, dream
mōth	motus
moth and }	meath }
māth }	meatham } Else, to die
olem (age)	ohm (Lat)
charats (cleave, wound slightly,	<i>χαράσσω</i>
Gesenius)	scratch
𐤀𐤋 laghah (to babble)	The same element in <i>λακέω</i> , laugh, lacheln, loquer ?
𐤀𐤋 laghaz (speak barbarously)	
𐤀𐤋 laghag (laugh and speak unintelligibly)	
In all these we recognise one element	

PRONOUNS

atta, pron (thou)	tu
ta, suffix	ta, tha, suffix in Sanskrit
hi (she)	hi, si
hu (he)	evo
anu, suffix nu	ni, nos, nau

No sufficient comparison of the Egyptian and other Northern African dialects with each other and with the Semitic languages has been made to allow of any general statement as to their relations. I may however observe, that those who have denied that any affinity can here be traced appear rather to have presumed the fact than to have proved it. The affinity of some striking words among the personal pronouns in the Egyptian and Hebrew languages is such as to excite a strong suspicion that more extensive resemblances exist, though it does not appear

probable that the idioms of Northern Africa are even so nearly related to the Semitic, as the latter are to the Indo-European languages ⁽²¹⁾

NOTE

(21) *The Semitic Languages* — The remarks upon the African Languages under section 1, Introduction apply to the statements of this note. Whatever else they may be, the Semitic languages are, in the first instance, African

SUPPLEMENTARY CHAPTER

SECTION I

SKETCH OF THE CHIEF WORKS ON KELTIC ETHNOLOGY, PUBLISHED
SINCE A.D. 1831 — BOPP AND PICTET

Having now given the text of Dr Prichard, along with such observations as his statements more especially demanded, I remind the reader that no less than twenty-five years have elapsed since the researches under notice first saw the light. This is a period sufficiently long to allow of considerable changes in any, more especially a philological, doctrine, inasmuch as philology and ethnology, between them, have, within the last quarter of a century, engrossed a considerable amount of attention.

Most of the divisions of philological and ethnological study have done this, the Keltic as much as the others—as much, and, perhaps, more. With the Keltic languages, however, as with many more, the fruits have, by no means, been proportionate to the labour bestowed on their cultivation. To a certain extent the work before us was the commencement of a better era. To a certain extent it displaced a great amount of loose and unsatisfactory speculation. To a certain extent it prevented the eccentric comparisons and far-fetched etymologies which have enabled men, with more learning than criticism, to find Keltic everywhere.

Without pretending to exhaust the subject, I shall, in the present addendum, give a brief notice of the chief works which illustrate the history of opinion in Keltic ethnology since 1831. These are neither few nor far between, indeed, they constitute a little literature. Several are English, some French, the majority German. In order to find a place in the present notice they must be, like the work which gives occasion to bring them forward, ethnological as well as philological—I might say ethno-

logical *rather* than philological—not, works of pure scholarship—works with which I feel myself wholly unfit to deal—would command attention.

Omitting these, and limiting ourselves to the treatises which have a decided and manifest ethnological aspect, we first come to those that either confirm, or contradict, the doctrine of the present volume.

The writers who most especially confirmed and developed the doctrine in support of which the work of Dr. Prichard was written, were Bopp¹ of Berlin, and Pictet² of Geneva. To the former of these investigators the subject had a special interest, inasmuch as his great work, the Comparative Grammar (*Vergleichende Grammatik*) of the so-called Indo-European languages, was, in a certain sense, incomplete so long as the fact of the Celtic being in the same class with the Latin, Greek, German, Norse, Slavonic, Lithuanian, and Sanskrit was pretermitted. At the same time, the Eastern Origin of the Celtic Nations was published before the *Vergleichende Grammatik* was completed. It could scarcely, however, have found its way into Germany before it was begun. Not appearing in the greater work of the author's, the Celtic languages formed the subject of a new series of papers.

As far as knowledge of the languages with which he dealt, and skill in the manipulation of letter-changes make a philologue, the author of the *Vergleichende Grammatik* had (and has) few rivals. On the other hand, few scholars have looked less carefully at the principles of philological classification. The question as to the extent to which the admission of the Celtic into the (so-called) Indo-European class raised the value of the class seems never to have been asked. And, as the same point was ignored in other investigations, the charge of having widened the Indo-European group to such a degree as to make it no class at all, lies, very decidedly, against the Prussian Professor. Besides enlarging and expanding the views of Prichard, he has, elsewhere, connected the Malay and the Georgian with the Indo-European tongues, as, indeed, they are in one sense, but not in the sense either originally given to the term, or the sense in which it can conveniently be retained.

Pictet, like Bopp, worked sedulously and skilfully at the

¹ Die Celtische Sprachen, etc. Berlin, 1839.

² De l'affinité des Langues Celtiques avec le Sanskrit. Laus, 1837.

letter-changes, and added a great number of details. The main fact of the Keltic being Indo-European was sufficiently made out by Prichard. The works, however, of both Pictet and Bopp were anything but superfluous. On the contrary, they were of great service to philology. In the first place they satisfied those who delighted in the kind of evidence (the letter-change testimony) they supplied. In the next, they stamped the doctrine with a considerable amount of authority. It may also be added that, whereas Prichard had looked to the Welsh rather than the Irish, Bopp and Pictet looked to the Irish rather than the Welsh.

The real condition, however, in which Prichard left the question was this, viz that if the value of the class called Indo-European was to be raised by any fresh additions, the Keltic group of languages should form either the part or the whole of such additions. More than this I cannot find in his paper. More than this I cannot find in either Bopp's or Pictet's. More than this I cannot find anywhere. By which I mean that I nowhere find evidence upon either of the two following questions —

1st That the Kelt (or, indeed, any other language) can be made Indo-European without raising the value of the term.

2nd That any good is effected by so raising it.

If the writers in question expressed themselves to the fact that the tongues in question were absolutely Indo-European, or (still more), if they derived them from the East, they left omissions in their argument which, to say the least, were illegitimate.

And here I may remark that the question as to how far additions may be made to certain classes, is by no means confined to European and Asiatic philology. In Africa the same question arises as to the value of Kaffre, or (as writers began to call it) the South African class. It has one (or more) very remarkable grammatical peculiarities. The same appears in the Timmani, a language near Sierra Leone, far away from the Cape, or even the northern frontier of the languages allied to the Kaffre.

How are we to value this? It is one thing to connect a given language with a certain fresh alliance, but it is another thing to separate it from an old one. What, for instance, if we make the Timmani Kaffre, is to be done with the languages of the group to which the Timmani previously belonged? Are *they* all to become Kaffre also? Why not? All that can be said,

even if they are removed and re-associated, is that a class previously large has taken a further extension. There is no objection to this, provided the fact be distinctly announced, and the magnitude, value, or compass of the class thus created be of moderate dimensions.

The fact that the value of a class has been raised should not only be distinctly announced, but some rough measure of its value should be given.

But where should we end if we extended the import of the term Indo-European as many writers would extend it? Not till we reached the Pacific. Supposing, however, that we stopped then, what would follow? Even this, that, having got one large class we should have to break it up into its minor divisions, and so have to end where we began.

SECTION III

SKETCH OF THE CHIEF WORKS, ETC.—EXPANSION OF PRICHARD'S
DOCTRINE—PRELIMINARY REMARK—NICHMAN

Were the Keltic tongues more especially like any one of the previously recognised Indo-European tongues than the rest? Before we answer this question it is well to consider a preliminary point. A language, in the eyes of the investigator, is always likest the one with which he most particularly compares it. Hence the apparent affinities of a given tongue depend, in a great measure, upon the previous knowledge of the men who cultivate it. When the Sanskrit was taken as the representative of the Indo-European class, and the Welsh and Irish were compared with the Indo-European languages in general, but with the Sanskrit (as then representative) in particular, the very force of circumstances would exaggerate the Sanskrit affinities; and there are not wanting casual observations, if not absolute statements, to the effect that the Keltic is pre-eminently Indian.

Again, the relations of the British language to the English have determined a considerable amount of comparisons between the Keltic and German, Anglo-Saxon and English more particularly. If these make the Anglo-Saxon Keltic, they also make the Keltic Anglo-Saxon.

There is, then, a certain amount of similarity which is more apparent than real, or (rather) the preponderance of similarity is often determined by accidental circumstances which give us only one sided views

Let us lay these out of the question, and ask whether any *real* affinities of a special kind have been found between the Keltic and its congeners

Of course, if the Keltic tongues were Indo-European they would have certain affinities with the Latin. How far they were special or not was another question. The writer who has done most in investigating this is Professor Newman, whose writings have been already referred to

They showed, beyond doubt, that a great number of words which were common to the Latin and Keltic, were original to the latter rather than the former language, so that the doctrine that either the Gallic of Gaul, or the Welsh of Britain, had taken up a certain amount of Latin elements became untenable

But was there any taking up or borrowing at all? Might not both have belonged to some common mother tongue, and (as such) have been Indo-European in general rather than either Latin or Keltic? That this was the case, provided the Keltic had not borrowed from the Latin, was, I imagine, the common opinion. That the Latin had borrowed from the Keltic few maintained

But that the Latin *has* so done, is the palmary doctrine of F Newman, who holds (and on sound ground) that some Keltic tongue stood in the same relation to the Latin as the Anglo-Norman did to the English, *i.e.* that there was an intrusive element in the Latin tongue, and that that tongue was Kelt. There are several details besides this in his papers, but the chief fact is the one just given, and the notification of it gave a definite impulse to Keltic philology, and that in a right direction

The other main doctrine of the same investigation is to the effect that the Keltic that thus intruded was not (as might be expected, *à priori*) the Keltic of the British, but the Keltic of the Erse or Gaelic branch. Upon the validity of this doctrine I suspend my judgment, having indicated an exception to it. Its bearings are, however, of great importance. According to the ordinary view of the population of the British Isles, the British was introduced into Britain from Gaul. The Gaelic, however, of Ireland and Scotland may have originated in Britain, or (if not) it may have been developed on the Continent, and trans-

planted to the soil anterior to the spread of the British. And thus is (there or thereabouts) what Lhuyd's view makes it. Lhuyd's view makes the original population of all the British Isles—England as well as Scotland and Ireland—to have been Gaelic, Gaelic to the exclusion of any Britons whatever. It makes a considerable part of the continent Gaelic as well. In consequence of this, the Britons are a later and intrusive population, a population which effected a great and complete displacement of the earlier Gaels over the whole of South Britain, and the southern part of Scotland. Except that they were a branch of the same stock as the Gaels, their relation to the aborigines was that of the Anglo-Saxons to themselves at a later period. The Gaels first, then the Britons, lastly the Angles. Such is the sequence.

The general distribution of these two branches of the Keltic stock leads to Lhuyd's hypothesis, in other words, the presumption in its favour. But this is not all. There are certainly some words—the names, of course, of geographical objects—to be found in both England and Gaul, which are better explained by the Gaelic than the British language. The most notable of these are the names of such rivers as the *Eze*, *Aze*, and, perhaps, *Ose*, which is better illustrated by the Irish term *uisge* (*whiskey*, *uatic*), than by any Welsh or Armorican one.

Mr. Gurnett and others, without adopting this view, have spoken of it with respect. Now Newman's doctrines concerning the Gaelic (rather than the British) affinities of the intrusive element of the Latin favour, rather than oppose, it. But is the doctrine itself unexceptionable? It has already been stated that an exception has been taken to it. What is the evidence that the Gaelic monuments are older than the introduction of Christianity into Ireland?

SECTION III

SKETCH OF CHIEF WORKS—SPECIAL GERMAN AFFINITIES—DAVIES
—HOLMEBOF

Of course, if the Keltic tongues were Indo-European, they would have certain affinities with the German. How far were

these special? Something has been written upon this question, the aspects of which are, *mutatis mutandis*, those of the last section

1 Given a certain number of elements common to the two classes—which lent, which borrowed?

2 Given a certain number of elements common to both classes, are they lent or borrowed at all? Are they not referrible to some common tongue? Are they not Indo-European rather than either Keltic or German?

In respect to the extent to which words decidedly belonging to one tongue have been taken up in another, the peculiar relation of the British to the English is important. There is giving and taking here, even where there is nothing of the kind elsewhere. Upon this point, two papers, by the Rev T Davies, in the Transactions of the Philological Society, are of importance.

1 On the races of Lancashire, as indicated by the local names, and the dialect of the country (Read Dec 7, 1855)

2 On the connection of the Keltic with the Teutonic languages, and especially with the Anglo-Saxon (Read Feb. 19, and March 5, 1857)

In these papers there is a waste of power on what may be called the controversial points entailed upon Keltic philologues by their predecessors. German affinities, as well as other matters, have been over-stoutly maintained, over-stoutly denied. Hence, on either side of the question, there is a certain amount of apparent, or real, advocacy. As a fact in the history of opinion, there is a great tendency to disconnect Kelts and Germans. As a fact, in the way of geography and ethnology, no two classes are more reasonably presumed to be specially connected. It would save much paper if the real *a priori* presumptions of the case itself, rather than the mere accidents of opinion, regulated the arguments on either side.

As it is, however, the papers under notice give valuable details in favour of the intrinsically probable doctrine that the Keltic tongues have special German affinities, these being (as the geography and ethnology also suggest) with the Low rather than the High German division. The following extracts give some of the more important lists —

Related Words of a general or abstract kind

- A S *gud* (war, fight), *gud bil* (war-bill, sword), *gud-botl* (warlike lord, shield), O N *gudur* (battle), *gud* (id)
 S *cwide*, *cuede* (speech, saying), *cweðan* (to speak, say), Goth *quithan* (to speak), O H G *quedan*, *cheden*, O N *quedha*, Mid Du *quedden* (salute)
 A S *gabban* (to scoff, to delude), Dan *gab* (mouth of a river, gap, opening), Du *gabberen* (to prate)
 A S *frec* (bold, wicked, grieved), Germ *fiech*, O H G *fiochon*, Old Sax *fioeno* (audacter), O N *fiohn* (strenuous), Goth *friks* (avarus)
 ierm *gruss* (salute, greeting), *grussen*, A S *gretan*, *gratan*, Bav *gruessen*
 A S *grim* (lively, savage), *gram* (furious, fierce), Germ *grimm*, Du *grimmig* (angry, ill-natured), Dan *grim* (stern, severe, war)
 A S *helm* (covering, helmet, foliage), *helan* (to conceal, to cover), G *helm*, *hullen*
 A S *galuan* (to shout, to rejoice), *galan* (to sing, to enchant), Prov Germ *gall* (sound), Du *galn* (sound, noise, voice)
 W *guth* (push, thrust), *guthio* (to push, thrust), *gud* (fight, battle), Gael and Ir *cath*
 Gael *ceadal* (story, narrative), *ceadalach* (malicious, as a story), *guidh* (to beseech), W *guet* (utterance, saying), *guedaul* (relating to speech), *guedur* (speaker)
 Gael *gab*, *gob* (bill, beak, mouth), *gabur* (tattler), W *guelio* (to grin, to mock), *gubain* (to howl), Bret *gabur* (to banter), O Fr *gab* (millery)
 W *ffioch* (furious fierce, ardent), *ffio* (violent motion or impulse), Gael *fioogh* (sharp, keen), *fiar-gach* (enraged, furious)
 W *grisaew* (a welcome), *grisaewu* (to welcome, to show hospitality), from *gres* (what is warm or cheering), *grisaewl* (ardent, cherishing)
 Gael *gruaim* (frown, surly look), *grim* (war, battle), W *grem* (crashing of the teeth, snarl), W *gremial* (to gnash, to snarl)
 W *hul* (cover, coverlet), *hulio* (to cover, to spread over), *hulur* (coverer, slater), pron as the Eng "huller" = tiler
 W *galio* (to call, to invoke), Ir and Gael *glaoth* (to cry, to shout)

A S *rynan* (to whisper, to tell secrets), *ryn* (letter, magical character, mystery), Germ *rune* (runic letter) O N *rûn* (rune, confidential talk)

arhin (a secret, a charm), *rhino* (to be mysterious, to use spells), Gael *rûn* (secret mystery)

Names of Animals

A S *meorh*, *meorg* (horse), O H G *mar*, *marc*, O N *mar*, Bav *merchen*, E *mare*

W *marc* (horse), *marcaw* (to ride), *marcawor* (horseman, cavalier), Gael and Ir *marc* (horse), *marcar* (horseman), Bret and Corn *marc*

A S *nædre* (snake, adder), Goth *nadrs*, Germ *natter*, O Sax *nadere*

W *nadr*, *neutr* (snake), Gael and Ir *nathair*, Corn *nadder*

A S *buc* (stag, buck), Germ *buck* (buck, he-goat), Du *bok* (he-goat)

W *buech* (a buck), also the male of several animals, as *buech gaf* (he goat), *buech danas* (buck or male of deer), Pughe, Gael and Ir *boc*, Bret *buch*, Corn *bouch*

A S *huna* (cock), Germ *hahn*

Gael *eun* (bird, fowl) [the letter *h* is not used as an initial in Gaelic], Ir *id*

A S *catt* (cat), Germ *katze*, O N *kât-r*

W *cath*, *cathes* (female cat), Gael and Ir *cat*

A S *steda* (horse, stallion), Eng *steed*, Germ *stute* (mare)

Gael *steud* (a race, a horse), *steud-each* (race-horse), *steud* (to run swiftly)

A S *earn*, *ern* (eagle), O H G *aro*, *arn*, *erni*, Du *âr*, Goth *ara*, O N *aein*, *ari*, Germ *adler*

W *eryr*, Ir *iolan*, Gael *iolair*

Miscellaneous

A S *beost* (bestings, first milk of a cow after calving), Dan *beest* (beast), Du *bëest*

Gael *beist*, *biast*, Ir *biast*, Corn *bëst*, W *bwyst* (wildness, ferocity)

A S *mal* (toll), O N *mal* (pay), Germ *mahl* (agreement)

W *mal* (a separate particle, grinding, contribution, tax), Ir and Gael *mal*, *mail* (rent, tribute, tax), Bret *mael* (gain)

A S *tol*, *toll*, (tax, tribute),
Germ *zoll*

A S *web* (web), *webban* (to
weave), Germ *weben*, *weben*

A S *balea* (ridge, beam, balk),
Germ *balken*, O N *balkr*
(fence), Dan *bælke*

A S *mand* (basket), Germ and
Du *mand*

A S *mur* (wall), Germ *mauer*,
Du *muer*, also A S, *weal*
(wall) Germ *wall*, Du *wal*

A S *flasc* (flask), Germ *flasche*,
Du *flis*

A S *mln* (mill), Du *molen*,
Germ *mühle*

A S *paric* (park) • Germ *park*
(park, warden)

A S *reap*, *ráp* (rope), Du *reep*,
Sw *rep*, Dan *reb*

A S *panne* (pan), Du *pan*,
Germ, *pfanne*

A S *bát* (boat, ship), Du *boot*,
Dan *båd*, Germ *bot*

W *tol* (to curtail, diminish,
take from), *toll* (fraction, cus-
tom, or toll), *tollr* (to take a part
from, to exact toll), *tollawr* (a
tax gatherer)

W *ghe* (web), *gweu*, *guau* (to
weave), *gwead* (weaving, knit-
ing), *gweadur* (weaver), Gael
figh (to weave, to plait), *figh-
headur* (weaver, twister)

W *bale* (balk, ridge), *bal* (pro-
minence), Gael *bale* (ridge,
boundary) Ir *bale*

W *maned* (a hand-basket), from
mun (a hand, Lat *manus*),
Gael *man* (hand), Ir *mana*

W *muu* (a wall), *muuo* (to fix,
to establish, to build a wall),
W *guall* (fence, rampart,
wall), Gael and Ir *sal* (circle,
fence, scythe, Lat *sale*)

W *flasy* (a vessel of straw or
wicker work, a basket), Gael
flasy

W *melu*, from *melu* (to grind),
Gael *muilinn*

W *pare* (enclosure, field, park),
paruo (to enclose, to hedge
in), Gael *paire* (enclosure,
field), Ir *id*

W *rhaff* (a rope), Eng *reef*,
Ir *ropa*, Gael *róp*

W *pan* (pan, bowl, cup), Gael
panna (id), *pannag*, *bannag*
(pancake)

W *bad* (bont), *badur* (bontman,
sculler), Ir *bath*, Gael *bath*
[Pughe derives the word from
ba (immersion, and also *bath*
(bath), A S *bath*, from the
same root]

A S. <i>clucge</i> (bell), Germ <i>klocke</i> , Ir <i>clog</i> (bell), <i>clog</i> (bell, clock), Du and Fries <i>klok</i>	
A S. <i>myse, mase</i> (table, dish), Gael <i>mas</i> (a plate, dish), O H G. <i>mas, meas</i> , Goth <i>mas</i> , Corn <i>mus</i> (basket), <i>mes</i> Bret <i>meuz</i> , W <i>muys</i> (basket, hamper)	
Germ <i>lohn</i> (wages, hire), Dan <i>lon</i> (provision, food), <i>lon</i> W <i>llunnaeth</i> (formation, arrangement, providence, food), Lewis	
A S. <i>uloh</i> (wool), Germ <i>wolle</i> Gael and Ir <i>olann</i> , W <i>gulan</i>	

Much of this and the like (for the extracts just given form but a small portion of the whole) is minute English philology rather than Kelto-German ethnography. The lists, however, are valuable contributions to the subject.

Out of England, a paper of Professor Holmboe's, of Christiania, has added to our knowledge of the special relations between the Kelt and German, although, like Newman, the author sees in many words evidence of the Keltic elements in the German being *intrusive*, not, however, to the exclusion of many words common to the two tongues originally. Holmboe's work is entitled *Norsk og Keltisk, om Det Norske og de Keltiske Sprogs Indbyrdes Laan* (Christiania, 1854).

The Keltic is Indo-European, and, as such, German. Besides this, there are words lent and borrowed. They are from the Low German rather than the High, and from the Norse or Scandinavian rather than the Anglo-Saxon or Frisian. This is the doctrine of the Norwegian professor—right in the main. Several of his words are the same as Davies'. Davies, however, draws chiefly from the Anglo-Saxon, Holmboe from the Icelandic.

The Norse affinities had been previously indicated by Garnett. "Some philologists have expressed an opinion that the Scots or Milesians were of Germanic race, or at all events had been subjected to Germanic admixture, and the language, as we now find it, certainly gives some countenance to that hypothesis. For example, *tianga* is the only word current for *tongue*, totally different from the Welsh *taiod*, and *leighis*, to heal, *leagh*, physical, are evident counterparts of our Saxon term *leech*. The following words, constituting a very small proportion of

what might be produced, may serve as further specimens of the class —

Beir, both
 Conne, woman, *quein*
 Dior, dear
 Dorchu, dark
 Dream, company, people *A S. dream, O E. trene*
 Drong, throng
 Faigh, to get, obtain, *Dan* free
 Feicht, light
 Frag, woman wife *Germ* from
 Lauc, thigh, *Dan* live
 Lagh, law
 Lib, lip
 Loidh, poem, liv, *Germ* led
 Lisd, loading, billast *Germ* list
 Leos, light, *Isl* hos
 Lumbh, limb
 Sar, very, exceeding, *Germ* sch
 Scidh, saw
 Seil, a while, space of time, *A S.* secl, sel
 Seam, a peg or pin *Dan* soul, nail
 Sgid, loss, misfortune, *Dan* skide
 Sgriol, separate, disperse *Sa* skidi
 Sgeir, rock in the sea, skerry *Isl* sker
 Sgubh, a cornmut, *Isl* skub
 Sing, creep *sneak*
 Snuchd, snow
 Shochd, family, race, *Germ* geschlecht
 Slug, swallow, *Germ* schlucken
 Smuchd, power, authority, *Germ* macht
 Smochu, smoothen
 Spadhlach, cut, *Germ* schneiden
 Spaidh, walk, *Germ* spazieren
 Spu, a beam or post
 Strang, a string
 Strumb, a current, stream
 Steirum, parch, fry, *Sa* stekt, to roast, fry, broil
 Struth, strife, *Germ* streit
 Tuth, two, season, *A S.* thug, *O E.* throw

Some of the above terms may have been introduced in the ninth and following centuries by the Northmen, but many of them occur in the oldest known monuments of the language, they are also accompanied by many compounds and derivatives, which is commonly regarded as a proof of long naturalization.

and are moreover current in Connau^{gh}t, where the Danes never had any permanent settlement. One of the most remarkable indications of a Teutonic affinity is the termination *nas*, or *nis*, exactly corresponding to our *ness* in *greatness*, *goodness*, *cleanness*, *breathennes*, judgment, *hailnis*, witness, etc. This affix is too completely incorporated in the language to be a borrowed term, and it moreover appears to be significant, in the sense of *state*, *condition*, in Irish, though not in German. As far as the writer knows, it is confined to the Gaelic and Teutonic dialects. The Irish *sealbh*, property, possession, *adh sealbhach*, *proprius*, would also furnish a plausible origin for the German *selber*, *self*, a word which has no known Teutonic etymology."

SECTION IV

SKETCH, ETC.—ENLARGEMENT OF THE SO-CALLED INDO-EUROPEAN CLASS

If the Kelt be Indo-European, any additions made to the class so designated must enlarge the range of Keltic affinities. Such being the case, a great deal of work may be done illustrative of Kelt philology without being meant to be so, its action being indirect. Again, a great deal of indirect work of the same kind may be done consciously, the writer having a special view to the Kelt. In either case, additions are made to Kelt ethnography.

Akin to investigations of this kind, but more direct in its action, is the comparison of the Keltic tongues with languages other than Indo-European—the Keltic being the starting point, the illustration of Indo-European philology being subordinate. Much has been done in this way—much wisely, much hastily.

The old belief concerning the Eastern origin of the Kelts, as it stood before the word Indo-European was invented, and as it is given in pp. 72^e—78, has yet to die out.

Consequently, even cautious investigators have not only given a list of Semitic elements in the Keltic, but have made the Keltic specially Semitic.

Similar investigations, on the strength of similar lists, have made it Coptic

Some have made it, more or less, African

Albanian words have been pointed out in it

So have Siberian, especially words from the Tungusian dialects, to say nothing of Lap, Ostiak, and the like

The following list is Armenian, as Mr. Garnett's. As many make the Armenian Indo-European, its place, perhaps, is, more properly, elsewhere. Exceptions, however, to this view have already been taken (Note 8)

ARMENIAN		CELTIC	
dsiern	<i>hand</i>	G W	dourn, dorn, <i>fest</i>
khun	<i>sister</i>	W	chwær
djur	<i>water</i>	W	dwi
ardj	<i>bean</i>	W	arth
dzaur	<i>tree</i>	—	derw, <i>oak</i>
mus	<i>flesh</i>	—	mus, <i>dish, meal</i>
dadel	<i>to judge</i>	—	didlen <i>to litigate</i>
bui	<i>good</i>	Bret	biao, G buagh
pag-und	<i>to salute</i>	W G	pog, <i>a kiss</i>
tun	<i>house</i>	G	dun, <i>a fort</i> W din
phaut	<i>wood</i>	G	huth, W gwydd
un	<i>year</i>	G W	un, <i>time</i>
oskr	<i>bone</i>	W	esgwin
gio kh	<i>head</i>	W	clog in pen-glog, G cloghan, <i>stall</i>
sr	<i>love</i>	W G	serch
air	<i>man</i>	G	tu, W gwr
amis	<i>month</i>	W	mis
lousin	<i>moon</i>	—	lloci
klor	<i>valley</i>	—	hwyn
arju	<i>sister</i>	G	angiod
amarn	<i>summer</i>	—	samh adh
boun	<i>to cut, stick</i>	W	bon, G bun
uwrn	<i>over, upon</i>	—	gwon, gor, G for
kin	<i>woman</i>	G	coume
ter, lord, gon	<i>to win</i>	W	teyrn
khigrt	<i>sweet</i>	—	chweg
ul	<i>but</i>	G	ul, <i>other</i> (cf G 'dallad)

It may also be added that Mr. Garnett is one of the few who have made special comparisons between the Keltic and Slavonic

SLAVONIC

baba	<i>an old woman</i>
blag	<i>good</i>
blesk	<i>brightness</i>
blejat (Rus)	<i>to float</i>
blato	<i>mud</i>
bočut' (Rus)	<i>{ to prick, to butt with } the horns</i>
borju	<i>I fight</i>
bran	<i>battle</i>
briju	<i>I shave</i>
bi'z	<i>quick</i>
biag	<i>bank, shore</i>
vitaz	<i>conqueror</i>
vлага	<i>moisture</i>
vladnika	<i>ruler</i>
vlas	<i>hair</i>
v'lk	<i>wolf</i>
vl na	<i>wool</i>
vran	<i>raven, black</i>
vremi, gen	<i>time</i>
vavit, (Russ)	<i>to boil</i>
voz	<i>upwards, visok, high</i>
v'rt	<i>garden</i>
viera	<i>faith</i>
glava	<i>head</i>
glas	<i>voice</i>
gor'kui	<i>bitter</i>
grom	<i>thunder</i>
ch bel	<i>thick</i>
dlanf	<i>palm of the hand</i>
dl'g	<i>debt</i>
dol	<i>valley</i>
droid, drozg	<i>thrush</i>
dibri	<i>valley</i>
zimi	<i>winter</i>
kash li	<i>ough</i>
kobuil i	<i>mare</i>
koheno	<i>knee</i>
kovatz	<i>smith</i>
kradu	<i>I steal</i>
kr'vi	<i>blood</i>
krag (Polish)	<i>circle</i>
lek	<i>medicine</i>
lag	<i>grove</i>
mal	<i>little</i>
minu	<i>I pass</i>

CELTIC

badhbh, sorceress
— bragh, Brct brav
— bloag, light
W bloeddaw, to cry out
— lfaid
— pwtiaw, to butt, poke
Ir bori, victory, borras, soldier
— braine, captain, chief
W byriau, to crop
— prs, Ir brise, E brash
G briaigh, W bice, high ground,
Sc bice
W buddlyg
— gwlych, Ir fluich
— gwldig, Ir fluth
— gwallt, li toll
Ir breaich
W gwlin, li ollan
Ir bian, raven, black, W bian,
Sc raven
Brct breman nou
W berwi
Ir uis, up, nasid, high, noble
— gort
W gwin, li fior, true
— pen-glog, Ir clogan, skull
W llus
Ir geur son, shawp
Brct kiuun (κεραυνός)
W tew
W G douru
li dlighe, W dyked
W dol
— tiesglen
— dyffryn
— gauav, anciently gaem
Ir cas, W pas
— capull, W ketfvl, horse
— glun, W glin
W gov
Ir cichum
W ciau (I at ciau)
— crwn, round
li lughenchd
W llwyn (Rom λογγός)
— mal, small, light
— myned, to go

SLAVONIC		CELTIC
ml'zu	<i>I milk</i>	Ir blghim
moie	<i>sea</i>	W G moif
mas	<i>flesh</i>	W mus, a meal, E mess
rad	<i>willing</i>	— rhid, free, gratuitous
pani (Illyr)	<i>trunk of a tree</i>	— bun In bun
rouno	<i>fluce</i>	W A s In ion, hair of animals
salo	<i>fat</i>	W suli
slob	<i>weak, infirm</i>	W clov
slavi	<i>glory</i>	In chu (Gr κλέος)
slug	<i>servant</i>	— sgolog (Ger schalk)
shid	<i>footstep</i>	— shocht (E slot)
smeg	<i>snow</i>	— smecht
soloma (Rus)	<i>straw</i>	W cilav
son (Rus)	<i>sleep</i>	G suun
such	<i>dry</i>	W sych
syde	<i>hunt</i>	G eridhe
suada	<i>middle</i>	W eridd
tunn	<i>hedge</i>	G dun, fort
chery	<i>norm</i>	— cumh
shnok	<i>broad</i>	— sn, long
shui	<i>left, sinister</i>	W aswy "

What are we to say to all this? That the resemblances are accidental? No. That the lists are wrong? There is, doubtless some error, since no one who uses languages by the dozen or score avoids them. On the whole, however, the facts are right.

They are not facts, however, in special Keltic ethnology. They are simply contributions to the proof of the great general theorem that languages all over the world are more alike than many suppose them to be.

SECTION V

SKETCH, ETC, ARRANGEMENT, AND DETAILS OF THE MEMBERS OF THE KELITIC CLASS ITSELF

Upon these much has been written, though not in systematic works. The greater part of the lucubrations in this direction has been subordinate to the illustration of some other subject

Thus the historians of Gaul, England, and Italy, have all a great deal to say about some Kelt population or other. So have the historians of some portion of the many. The geographer and ethnologist are in the same predicament with the historian, not to mention the philologist, who, if he write about the English or French, must recognize a Keltic element. Is this large or small? What does it represent? Supposing it to be large, is the infusion of Keltic blood in the veins of the population proportionate? or, is the language more (or less) Keltic than the blood? or is the blood more (or less) Keltic than the language? Are the English pure Germans or only half-bloods? Are the French half-bloods or Romans? How much also is German? Which are the most Keltic parts of the country? Which of England? Supposing either or both of these populations to be ever so Keltic (or ever so Roman or German), what is the value of the fact? Is it a difference of race? What is race? Were the Kelts ever less Keltic than they are at present? Was there ever anything transitional between them and the Germans? Was nation *a* or nation *b* of antiquity, Kelt or German? or was it neither the one nor the other?

These questions and the like have been discussed, and the writings on them have been various

“Sunt boni, sunt quidam mediocri.”

It is scarcely necessary, nor is it easy, to enumerate them. It is more convenient, and quite as useful, to indicate the chief subjects that have commanded attention—

1 *The details of the Gallo-German frontier*—The consideration of these falls into two divisions—

a The position of certain populations of the Rhine, the Treviri and the like

b The position of the Belgæ

2 *The position of the Picts*

3 *The position of the old language of Gauls*—Was it British or Gaelic? One of the first of Mr Garnett's valuable papers on the Language of the British Isles (in the *Philological Transactions*) deals with this question

4 *The Language of Britain*—Was this British or Gaelic?

5 *The present Armorican*—Did this come from Wales?

6 *The present Welsh*—Did this come from Armorica? The doctrine of Mr Wright on this point has been already noticed

The *pro's* and *con's* in all these problems are indicated in different sections of either the text or notes. Not one of them is settled to the satisfaction of all enquirers. In the mind of the present writer the Kelt origin of the Belga is the most certain of the whole list. Yet many make them German. On the opposite side, no one has written better than Prichard himself, in his *Natural History of Man*, in the chapter on the ethnology of Gaul and Belgium.

SECTION VI

SKETCH, ETC.—WRITINGS OF GARNETT—ZUSS—DIEFFENBACH

The chief writings that, either by suggestions, special investigations, or the exposition of known facts, have advanced Keltic ethnology, now come under notice, and first and foremost amongst them, the writings of the philologue so often quoted—Mr Garnett. These have touched upon the grammatical structure, the ethnological relations of the stock in general, and the details of its constituent elements. With the exception of the contribution to the *Quarterly Review*, noticed in p. 285, all Mr Garnett's dissertations are in the *Transactions of the Philological Society*.

1. The oblique character of the pronouns of the persons of verbs is his primary contribution to philology—to philology, however, rather than to ethnology.

2. His other notices are—

a. In favour of the language of ancient Britain being that of ancient Gaul, and of both being British rather than Gaelic.

b. In favour of the Picts having been Britons rather than either Gaels or Germans.

c. In illustration of the affinities of Keltic tongues with the German, Slavonic, and other undoubted members of the Indo-European stock, and with the Albanian, Armenian, and other branches beyond it.

None of these comparisons are driven to the undue extent of making the Keltic specially Armenian, specially Albanian, specially anything. It is simply, in Mr Garnett's hands, what Prichard left it—a language decidedly akin to the Latin, Greek,

German, Slavonic, and Sanskrit, and more or less allied to certain languages beyond the pale of the class to which these belonged

And here I may be allowed to express the hope, not only that Mr. Garnett's papers on the Keltic tongues, but that all his writings upon philological subjects, may be published. They are by far the best works in comparative grammar and ethnology of the century.

The earliest contributions to Keltic philology, by Kaspar Zeuss, are to be found in the third chapter of his valuable work on the Germans and the Neighbouring Tribes (*Die Deutsche und die Nachbarstämme*), under the words *Kelten*, *Belya*, *Britanni*, *Hiibernische*, etc.

As Garnett demands a publisher, Zeuss calls for a translator—for the work under notice at least. His more specific lucubrations are in Latin, and, so being, are more accessible. Individually, my obligations to his learning and industry are beyond compute. It is with a sense of actual pain that, whilst opposing his conclusions, I have here and elsewhere availed myself of his facts. In thinking of this, I feel myself one of the most ungrateful of writers. Take the present premier, when he takes the oath that excludes Hebrew tax-payers and millionnaire loan-contractors from an English House of Commons, I “blush inwardly.”

In his last, and more decidedly Keltic work, the *Grammatica Celtica*, Zeuss relies chiefly on the *data* he has himself seen, and he seems to have looked about for them. Of the Irish he makes much, for, with praiseworthy caution—with no more caution, however, than the intricate nature of the subject demands—he draws a clear and definite distinction between the matter and the form of the materials he has to deal with. He acts upon the safe rule, that the age of the language is to be measured by the age of the writing which conveys it to posterity. It cannot, of course, be younger than this. Even if younger than the MS. in which it is found, it is not, and cannot be, younger than the man who wrote, and the pen and ink wherewith it was written. But may it not be older? It may, and it may not. It may, ~~in a~~ poem, have been composed by a bard long since dead, and written on the particular MS. on which we find it, by some copyist of a later age. But, granting that this is the case, what security has the modern critic that the language may not be that of the copyist instead of the original composer? Experience tells us

that accommodations of the kind here implied are common, both in the matter of time and place, both in respect to the stage in which a language appears, and the dialect in which it is embodied.

Hence we get the good rule, that, in all cases of obscure and fragmentary literature, the age of the MSS is the *maximum* age of the language it preserves. Zeuss acts in this, and he acts wisely. To works like the Laws of Howel Ddu, and the Mabinogion, he gives, as far as the matter and the date of their composition goes, a comparatively high antiquity. To the grammatical forms, and to their orthography, he gives the antiquity of the parchment on which they are written, certainly nothing higher, possibly something lower.

With this rule for the definition of antiquity, he gives a preference to the Irish over the Welsh. The facts connected with the former are certainly interesting. They show the extent to which the Irish monks were employed, actively, and apparently successfully, on the diffusion of the light of the Gospel in countries far beyond the seas that encompassed Ireland. They indicate the presence of disciples and successors of St. Columban, in Switzerland, on the Rhine, in Bavaria, in Belgium, and in France. One monk gets as far as Kent and back again. They show that monastery after monastery continued Irish music—few or many—sometimes called Angles, or Saxons, but more generally Scots.

I confess that, after no trifling amount of discursive and miscellaneous reading, amongst innumerable discursive and miscellaneous mis- or books appertaining to ancient Ireland and its civilization, Christianity, and influence—reading, which had struck me as much more tending to the glorification of Hibernia, and things Hibernian, than to any useful criticism, the hard, though isolated and fragmentary facts, in the way of Irish learning, and Irish migratory zeal, that these notices conveyed, raised my opinion of the early missionaries of Christianity much more than the accounts of their vaunted learning and doubtful civilization with which the ordinary over-patriotic historians treat.

The MSS for the earliest Irish, quoted by Zeuss, are the following—

The glosses on Priscian—These are in the library of St. Gallen. They are marginal and interlinear, written in three hands. A few are in the Ogham character, the majority in the

ordinary Latin. The seventh-century is the assigned date of these glosses on Priscian.

The glosses of the *Codex Amelinus*—This is a MS in the library of the University, originally of the Cathedral of Wirtzburg. They apply to the Epistles of St Paul. The Pauline glosses are not older, though possibly as old as the Priscian.

The Milan glosses—These are a Commentary on the Psalms, rightly or wrongly ascribed to St Jerome. They are, perhaps, as old as the preceding.

The glosses on Bede, in the Carlsruhe Library—Somewhat later than the Milan, Wirtzburg, and St Gallen MSS.

The Carlsruhe glosses on Priscian—In some parts these are based upon the St Gallen MS, or, at any rate, originate in a common source. In others they are independent.

The St Gallen Incantations, or formulæ for effecting charms, more or less actual, if not poetical, in character.

The *Codex Cameracensis*—This contains *Canones Hiberni Concilii*, A.D. 684. The MS, however, belongs to the ninth century.

Of works of equal antiquity with these (the test being as above), in the British division of the Celtic tongues, Zeuss gives fewer for Wales than for Ireland. They are—

WELSH

1 *Codex Oxoniensis prior* (Bodleian, originally NE D 2 19, now F 4 4—32), containing glosses on Eutychius and Ovid's *Ars Amandi*, also the alphabet of *colbren y beidd*, along with *De mensuris et ponderibus quædam, Cambrica intermixta latinis*, pp 22^b—23^a.

2 *Codex Oxoniensis posterior* (Bodleian, originally NE B 5 9, now MS Bodl 572), membranaceus, formæ minoris, theologicæ continens, in medio autem, and p 41^b, usque ad 42^a, persæ quædam Latina ad præbendam pueris verborum copiam (ut videtur) cum vocibus Cambricis, quæ scriptæ sunt aut supra vocabula latina aut post ea in linea cum signo r glossatorum solito.

3 *Codex Ecclesiæ Lichfeldensis* (antea Landavensis). The Gospels, with certain entries of donations made to the Cathedral of Landaff—adnotatæ sunt Latine, sed cum nominibus vel etiam sententiis Cambricis. Published by Wanley.

4 *Folium Luxemburgense*. Published by Mone, in *Die Gallische Sprache*. Karlsruhe 1851.

- 5 *Liber Landavensis*
- 6 *Codex Legum Venedotianus*.—The Laws of Howell Dda
Vetustior omnibus legum codicibus qui extant
- 7 *Codex Ruber Hergestensis* (the Red Book of Hergest) In
the library of Jesus College Intermediate between the Old and
Middle British

CORNISH

- 1 The Cotton MSS, British Museum, Vesp A 14
- 2 *Carmen de Passione Christi*

ARMORICAN

- 1 Glosses in the Chartularies of the Monasteries of Rhedon
and Landevin
- 2 *Vita S Nonnæ, or (Nonitæ)* A mystery of the twelfth
century Published as the *Buhez santes Nonn*, with an Introduc-
tion by the Abbé Sionnet, and with a literal translation by M
Legonidec Paris, 1837

He concludes with a notice, which the next chapter will
explain—*quæ apud Marcellum Burdigulensem, Virgilium Gram-
maticum, in glossa Malbergica leguntur pœgna, inaudita vel
incognita, si quis quæserit in hoc opus, non inveniat in his
omnibus enim equidem nec invenio vocem Celticam nec invenio*

Dieffenbach's *Celtica*, published in '39 and '40, at Stuttgart,
is valuable in respect to the number of glosses it contains, and,
also, for the amount of information upon other points of Kelt
ethnology

SECTION VII

SKETCH, ETC.—SPECULATIONS AND CONTROVERSY—THE MALBERG
GLOSSES—LEO—MEYER—MONE—HOLTMANN

I am not aware of any writer of authority having attempted
to reverse the statement of Prichard as to the fact of the Keltic
languages belonging to the so-called Indo-European class, espe-
cially since its confirmation and adoption by Bopp and Pictet
In the possibility, however, of its being, at the same time, Indo-

European and something else, lies the germ of any amount of speculation. There is the germ, too, of any amount of speculation in the questions concerning the details of the Keltic name. What were the Belgæ, etc.? There is the germ too of any amount of speculation in respect to the route taken by the Welsh and Gaels in their journey from Asia to Europe, — for from Asia (by hypothesis) they came. If any one, besides myself, has steadily and consistently ignored their Eastern origin, and made them simple Europeans of the West of Europe, the fact is unknown to me.

Where there is speculation, there is also controversy, hence the heading of the present chapter.

Into these speculations and controversies able men have entered, and, when able men write, some result or other is the consequence. They may be wrong. Nevertheless, they ventilate the subject, and suggest ideas.

The chief point, however, which the very equivocal works of the present chapter illustrate, is the state of the philological mind in Germany. In England, etymology (as we are told by the scholars of Germany, and as many of us tell ourselves) is less of a science than it is capable of being made. On the contrary, it is conjectural, empirical, sensible, perhaps, in its best form, but still empirical and conjectural. In the clever manipulation of letters, in the doctrine of Ablaut, and Anlaut, and Inlaut, and Lautverwechsolung, and Lautverschiebung, and the like compounds of Laut, we are less *au fait* than our neighbours. The consequence is, that, in Great Britain, loose etymology, and looser ethnology, is nothing more than what we expect. In Germany, however, philology has its laws—is a science. As a consequence of this, the loose conjectures of any old and vicious school in philology, are exploded, obliterated, dead and buried, never more to rise. Loose conjectures in *any* school are exploded—the loose conjectures of the old Keltic school most especially.

Such is the theory. The practice is widely different. If the so-called laws of the letter-changes are worth the paper on which they are written, they are worth something as safeguards against illegitimate ingenuity and eccentric conjecture, against all those unsatisfactory uncertainties which have brought discredit on the study of most languages, and on that of the Keltic most especially. So far, however, are they from having exhibited any conservative or cautionary qualities, that the men

whose results most nearly approach those of the Keltic scholars of the last century, and precisely those whose mastery over the alphabet, in the way of letter-changing, is the greatest.

The chief point, then, which the following works illustrate is the insufficiency of the so-called Laws of Letter-change as a safeguard against uncertainty and eccentricity.

The work of Leo, upon the Malberg glosses (*Malbergische Glossen*, Halle '42), is to the effect that certain glosses upon a copy of the *Lex Sileci* are Belgian and Keltic. The meaning of the word Malberg is uncertain. There is no evidence of its being the name of a place, none of its being that of a man. The syllable *malb-* and *malberg-* precedes several of the glosses. Hence the use of the term. Leo's doctrine, that these glosses were Keltic, was soon controverted—by Clement, at first, afterwards by Grimm, and others. The opinion of Zeuss is given in the extract of the preceding chapter. One of the most suggestive portions of Leo's work is the following list:—

Latin	Gaulish	Irish	Celtic
ambra	an un	cellu (tem-	cell
aurum	oi	plum)	
argentum	angoit	angulum	ceungal
armis	amhum	cauac	ca-
alius	all	ceoides	ceucall
ager	ac-	cornu	corn
aer	aci	caput	ceup
alere	al-	quinque	ceingean
anger (subst.)	anngui	quid	ciod
agnus	uaglin	quæstio	ceisd, querece,
acer	ac u, achear		ceisg)
agere	acai	quantitas	cundighacht
annulus	annu	quando	cu
argumentum	annuicadh	quætor	cealm
ard	ar-	quiditas	culidhacht
ardus	ard	castra	ceatubh
bonus	bonn, buan	certus (justus,	ceut
bos	bo	fidelis)	
brachium	braic	sera	ceir
ulbus	balbh	cista	cisto
betula	beith	coma	ciamh
caro (carnis)	carna	clure	clur, clur-
coccus	caoc	clavus	clo
cellare	ceil-	credere	ciend
coelum	cial	copiae	coib, corp

LATIN	GAELIC	LATIN	GAELIC
causa	cáis	heros	earr
caulis	coilis	allere	feall
calo	ciola, giola	flusus	falsa
cortex	court, cort, cart	fanum	fan
corbis	caib	fagus	feagha
columba	colum	ferro	beir-
columna	colúman	femina	femen
communis	coimín	frater	brathair
cumulare	comhal	fidelis	feidil
canere	can-	ferrum	iern, iarrun
clinare (incli- nare)	claon-	granum	gran
canna	ganne	galea	galia
canis	cu (in obl cas cuin)	gignere	gin-
corpus	corp	grax	gragh, graidh,
canabis	cnaib, canaib		greigh
carrus	carra, carr	garrere	giorac
cor (cordis)	croidhe	gladius	cladhmh, clodhummh
caballus	cabal, capall	hycis	geimhre
cura	car	hora	uair
canalulus	cannin	hortus	gort
capere	gabh	na	ir
caput	gabhai	insula	inis
clamor	glam	lonica	luirnach
cueullus	cuach	lu	lachd, laith
catus	cat	lectum	leacht (grab- lager)
crocus	croch	legere	ligh-
calx (kalk)	cule	lana	olann
caseus	cause	luna	luan
calvus	calbh	licere	loig
carus	cara	laena	léan
candela	cainneal	linum	lin
capo	cabun	luscus	lusca
caula	cobhail	locus	loc
corrumpere	coirip	lacus	loch
corrigeré	coirigh	latus	leathan
centum	ecat	meretrix	meirdreach
dare	doigh-	mos	mos
durus	diur	mel	mil
domus	dom.	mons	moín
decem	deich	miles	mileadh
deus	dia	manus	main, mana
bis (für duis)	dis	mater	mathair
duo	do	mutus	munte
equis	each	memoria	meamhoir
		mensis	mios

LATIN	GÆLIC	LATIN	GÆLIC
nens	mair	scopulus	secalp
niscere	measg-	scutur	sciath
nalitia	mailis	serinium	serin
reka	mol	scutari	scuid-
macula	machuil	scopa	scuab
mille	milo.	stare	sdad-
modus	modh	sex	se
mare	muir	septem	seacht
nidus	nid	senis	sean
numerus	numhuir	sequor	seich-
nebula	neabhul	salix	scale
novem	nao	signum	nighin
novus	no	sigillum	sigle
notus (clarus, insignis)	eno	siccare	sioc-
nox	nocht	sensus	siunsa
nux	cnudh, cnu	solari	siur
opus	obun	sugere	sagh-
ovis	aodh	sonus	son
ovum	obh	somnus	suamhneas
otario	or-	stunum	stan
octo	ocht	salix	sail (dimin suleog)
olum	ola	sol	sul
pes	cos	sedere	suidh-
pluma	clumh	seale	seagal
prudens	cruite	saltue	saltu—scaltr
purpura	coiecur	taurus	taibh
portus	port	tilia	teile
poena	pian	tyrannus	tiarna
plenus	lan	tumor	tumo
plenum	lana	tres	tri
lex (iustum)	ic uht	tubas	treabh
riglus	nighin	tellus	tealla, teallur
rex	righ, ris	terra	tir
remigare	ri. mhanch	unus	non
rota	roth	unguis	ionga, lang, . urg, unga
rosa	ros	ungero	ung-, òng
saccus	sac	unere	ur (das feuer)
sagitta	sagh-at	vinum	fion
sanus	saine	vir	fear (in obl casus fir)
suavis	saimh	verus	fica
satietas	saith	vicus	fich
sal	salann	verbum	fearb
con-solari	solas-	vesperi	feascor
similis	samhail	vilis	feile
simul	iomaille		
scapha	scafa		

LATIN	GAELIC	LATIN.	GAELIC
vita	bith, beatha	vates	faidh
vallum	fal	vignia	faigin
vulpes	uulp		

Dr. Meyer, in his paper on the importance of the study of the Celtic Language, as exhibited in the Modern Celtic dialects still extant (*Report of the British Association for the Advancement of Science*, 1847), thinks (*inter alia*) that "The Celtic nation transported itself from Asia, and more particularly from Asiatic Scythia, to Europe, and to this country, by two principal routes, which it resumed at different epochs, and thus formed two great streams of migration, flowing, as it were, periodically. The one in a south-western direction, proceeding through Syria and Egypt, and thence along the northern coast of Africa, reached Europe at the Pillars of Hercules, and passing on through Spain to Gaul, here divided itself into three branches, the northern of which terminated in Great Britain and Ireland, the southern in Italy, and the eastern, running along the Alps and the Danube, terminated only near the Black Sea, not far from the point where the whole stream is likely to have originated. The other great stream, proceeding in a more direct line, reached Europe at its eastern limit, and passing through European Scythia, and from thence partly through Scandinavia, partly along the Baltic, through Prussia (the Polcna of the Sagas, and Pwyl of the Triads), and through Northern Germany, reached this country, and hence the more western and northern islands across the German Ocean, or *hazy sea*. Of these two streams or lines of Celtic migration, which, with reference to this country, we may distinguish by the names of the *western* and *eastern* stream, the former, although the less direct, seems to be the more ancient in history, and to have reached this country several centuries before the other. The principal nations belonging to it are the *Kéltai* of Spain (to whom this name particularly refers) and the *Galli*, the latter being the parent stock of the three tribes which successively possessed this island, and successively bestowed upon it the three names by which it is mentioned in the records of classical and national literature. Each of these names corresponds with that of the tribe itself, both being taken from the chief god worshipped by each tribe, on whom they always bestowed a two-fold character, one general, as god of the sun, and one special, as

their own warlike leader and protector—their *heroes eponyms*. These three tribes are the following:

"1st The Alwani (Aluwani), who took their name from their god *Alw*, and after him called this island *Aluwion* (*Aluwion*, Albion), i. e. the island of Alw."

"2nd The *Aedni*, who took their name from their god *Aed* (the *Aedd Mawr* of the triads), and after him called this island *Aeddion* or *Iuddyn* (Edin), a name preserved in that of the town of Edinburgh (Welsh *Gaeir*, or Dinas Eiddyn, Gaelic, Din Eidin). The name under which the Aedni of Great Britain and Ireland are most frequently quoted, and which, contrasted with the other, may be called their secular name, is that of the Brigantes (identical with the Welsh family name Brychan, and the Irish Breoghan), and to be derived from the Welsh word *brych*, Gaelic *breeg*, fuscus."

"3rd The *Britons* (Brython), who took their name from their god *Bryt* or *Pryd* (the *Prydydd* ap *Aedd Mawr* of the Triads) and after him called this island *Britann* (Ynys Prydain) (Great Britain)."

Monte finds the Kelts all over Europe, in Germany, in Scythia, in Greece, in Italy (See *Celtische Forschungen zur Geschichte Mitteleuropas*, 1857).

Holtzmann, on the other hand, makes the Kelts of Gaul to have been Germans, writing very loosely and very rudely, indeed, it is worth remarking that, in proportion as their criticism runs wild, the courtesy of the writers decreases. *Keltomaniae* and *Teutonomaniae* are common terms in the philological arena of Germany. Yet Monte, Holtzmann, and Meyer are, in all probability, greater adepts in letter-changes and the like than any scholar in Great Britain either is or cares to be.

SECTION VIII

PRESENT CONDITION AND PROSPECTS OF THE PHILOLOGICAL ETHNOGRAPHY OF THE KELTS

The remarks of the preceeding sections, and, more especially the last, shew that the writer by no means thinks well of

the present state of Kelt scholarship. In Germany, where the rules and cautions involved in the so-called laws of the letter-changes are the most carefully studied, the licence of speculation is the wildest. There is nothing worse than mere bad manners in writers calling one Celtic, Celtomaniacs, and Teutonomanics. There is the evidence of certain opinions having taken a very extreme form. There is, also, the still more decided evidence to one of these two extremes being wrong. One *must*, both *may* be so.

Whether the clever manipulation of letter-changes has, by enabling men to go wrong according to system, done as much harm as it is destined to do, is doubtful. It is pretty certain that it has done, almost, all the good of which it is capable. For all useful purposes Pritchard used it, the results being what we have seen. It is not, then, from this quarter that any advancement of Kelt ethnology is to be expected.

An improved logic, and a greater sobriety of idea, combined with a great breadth of view, are the real desiderata, at least, for the settlement of the more general questions.

An improved logic, combined with a greater sobriety of idea, is especially needed for the separation of the two questions involved in the title and contents of the present work. All that is legitimately deduced from any amount whatever of similarity between a language spoken on the Shannon, and a language spoken on the Ganges, is a connection between the two. The nature of this connection is a separate problem. If writers confuse the two, they only show their own one-sidedness of view.

Out of several alternatives they see but one. If Dr Pritchard had written on the "Western Origin of the Sanskrit Language," learned men in Bombay and Calcutta would have accused him, off-hand, of an undue amount of assumption. Might not the Keltic have originated in the East? Might not both Keltic and Sanskrit have been propagated from some intermediate point? Is not the Indus as far from the Severn, as the Severn from the Indus. All this might have been asked, and that legitimately. *Mutatis mutandis*, all this should be asked now. That certain things western and certain things eastern are connected is true. That the origin of the connection is in Asia is an assumption. The first step towards an advancement, then, in Kelt ethnology is to separate the questions. The result *may be* what it now

is (for this, though I have decided it for myself, I do not pretend to prejudice for others), or it may be something different, only let the two questions be answered.

An improved logic, combined with a greater sobriety of idea, is necessary for the interpretation of the Keltic area of Europe. That nations may bear similarity, and even identical names, without being allied, has been shewn. The inference is that some of the Keltic and Galatæ of antiquity may have been as different from the Gauls of Gallia, as a modern Gallician of Spain is different from a modern Gallician of Austria. What occurs at the present moment in the way of identity of name and difference of ethnological character may have occurred two thousand years ago. The full bearing of this should be admitted and acted on.

An improved logic, combined with a greater breadth of view, should regulate all the conclusions that rest upon a certain amount of similarity between the Keltic, and languages like the Hebrew, Coptic, Albanian, &c. It is not a question as to whether there is, or is not, a certain amount of resemblance, but a question as to what this resemblance implies. Does it denote any special affinity? or, does it merely denote those general relations which all languages bear to each other? In most (probably in all) cases, similarities of the kind in question are merely so much evidence to the unity of language in general.

I have spoken of an improved logic, I might have said something about an improvement of the spirit and temper in which such a logic should be applied. The miserable spirit of *partisanism*, however, which delights in the contrast between the Kelt and Anglo-Saxon (each glorified at the expense of the other, according to the nationality of the writer), scarcely deserves notice in scientific works. The self-satisfied German, the susceptible Kelt of the journals and the platforms, may be left to the enjoyment of their own extreme forms of eccentric ethnology.

"Non tagiamo di lor, mai guard' e passa"

Let men write about England and Wales, without dragging in the somewhat equivocal history of the successes of the so-called Anglo-Saxon race in the old and new worlds.

That these negative rules, if adhered to, will do more to promote Kelt ethnology than all the letter-changes of the great continental philologues I firmly believe. But something more than

more negations is wanted. The specific comparisons most likely to be productive of results may be indicated.

The fact of the Keltic language of the extreme west is one of no little importance, which simplifies investigation by making certain affinities impossible. Beyond the Hebrides, and the coast of Galway, there is nothing but the mythic Atlantis in which either affinities, or an approach to affinities, can be found or dreamed of. Whatever else the Gache may be, it is not of western origin.

On the east, north, and south, there are two languages with which its immediate geographical contact is undeniable—the Basque and the German. This it was, as the language of Gallia, as the language of its original site, and, not as the language of any migratory, intrusive, or conquering population. Simply as the Gache of Gaul, it had a certain amount of Basque or Iberic on its southern, a certain amount of German on its eastern, northern, or north-eastern frontier.

As few, however, have held that the German and Basque languages were ever continuous, other languages, besides these two, must have helped to form the original Keltic frontier, which lay within the present kingdom of Piedmont, Switzerland, the Tyrol, and the non-German districts of the Upper Rhine. What these were is a matter upon which much speculation may be expended, and much difference of opinion maintained. Indeed, one of the more preliminaries is a question of vast range and many phases. This is the question—Whether the earlier existence of some group of dialects, now extinct, is, or is not, to be assumed. Assume it, and there is no end to the complications and doubts which may arise. Assume it, and the natural obscurity of this, and similar questions, increases. But let it be argued that what is called the rule of Parsimony is opposed to the assumption. Let the doctrine, that causes are not to be multiplied unnecessarily, have its full weight. In this case the problem lies within narrower bounds, and some stock already in existence is the fact with which we have to deal.

The present writer adheres entirely, and without reserve, to this latter view, as well on the strength of the facts with which he is supplied *à posteriori*, as on the *à priori* rule by which he regulates the argument. So doing, he sees only two other lan-

guages, which, *at the first view*, claim notice—the Northern Latin in its oldest form, and the Western Slavonic. The first may have reached sufficiently far in the direction of Gaul to have touched some portion of the Celtic area, or, *vice versâ*, some portion of the Celtic area may have touched upon Italy. The Ligurian, probably, did this.

The Slavonic is held by few to have been in immediate contact with anything Kelt. Nevertheless, an exceedingly strong case can be made out in favour of the forms of speech at present represented by the Czech of Bohemia, and the Sorb of Lusatia, having extended a far westward as the Rhine. If so, the western boundary of the Celtic of Gallia was German on the Upper, Slavonic on the Lower, Rhine. The direct affinities of the Kelt and Slavonic have been greatly overlooked. Few Slavonic scholars knew either Welsh or Irish, few Kelts either Polish or Bohemian, whereas, the numbers of both who know either English or German are high. No wonder, then, that the accidental circumstances noticed in a previous chapter have determined the opinion of learned men towards the belief that the Slavonic is one of the languages with which the Celtic is connected, indirectly rather than directly.

Now, none of these frontiers—Basque, German, Latin, or Slavonic—imply any very high antiquity, or any inordinate amount of movement and migration. Neither do they point to those very early times when the geographical relations of the different languages of Europe were notably different from what they are at present. On the contrary, they belong to the beginning of the historic period—say to the time of Julius Cæsar, or (more roundly and conveniently still) to the beginning of the Christian era. They belong to the state of things as it stood 1800 years ago.

What, however, if (say), 1000 years before, the German language lay more inland, the Celtic more to the north, the Fin of Livonia, Courland and East Prussia, more to the west and south? In such a case the northernmost specimens of the Celtic, and the south-western Fin, may have been in contact. I do not say that this is the case. I only say that, in case the Fin elements in the Celtic, or the Kelt elements in the Fin, be found to be numerous enough to justify the doctrine of a special affinity, the possibility of an ordinary geographical contact must be borne in mind. Now Fin affinities being abundant in Celtic, the only

question is as to their nature. Are they general or special? They may very easily be special.

The reasons for their being so are foreshadowed in the remarks upon the Kelt frontier. Common sense tells us that the closest affinities of a given Keltic language are likely to lie in the closest geographical contact. Where this is not the case, there have generally been intrusions and displacements of some kind. That such is often the case is well known. At the same time, as a general rule, the first comparisons should be made with the frontier languages. If this be done, our results, though common-place in their character, will, most probably be true. If this be done, fewer discoveries will be made, but those few will be real. If this be done, comparative philology will have fewer brilliant points,—the brightness, however, such as there will be that of the true rather than the false diamond. Common sense, and a clear view of the *a priori* presumptions, are the true parts of the law in ethnology.

The frontier tongues, then, of the Keltic area first demand notice. Of this there is no doubt. Whether they are exactly the tongues that are here enumerated, viz the Latin, Slavonic, German, Basque and Fin (?), is in open question. It is only certain that it is not with these that the majority of the comparisons have, hitherto, been made.

That this is not the direction in which the common and current comparisons have been made, is clear from what has preceded. For one writer who has looked at the Serb or Bohemian, twenty have troubled themselves about the Hebrew

¹ The following forms of the ordinal numerals are interesting, the Ostiak being the Ugrian of the river Ob.

ENGLISH	WOTIAK	OSTIAK
<i>Second</i>	du- <i>red</i>	ki- <i>met</i>
<i>Third</i>	tu- <i>red</i>	kyt- <i>met</i>
<i>Fourth</i>	pu-dwa- <i>red</i>	met- <i>met</i>
<i>Fifth</i>	pum- <i>med</i>	vet- <i>met</i>
<i>Sixth</i>	gwach- <i>red</i>	kyd- <i>met</i>
<i>Seventh</i>	soth- <i>red</i>	tvet- <i>met</i>
<i>Eighth</i>	wyth- <i>red</i>	nula- <i>met</i>
<i>Ninth</i>	naw- <i>red</i>	ap-yong- <i>met</i>
<i>Tenth</i>	dug- <i>red</i>	yong- <i>met</i>

In *Sirianian* and *Wotiak* the forms are *od* and *uti*. Thus *fifth* = wit-*ut* (S), and vit-*uti* (W). On the other hand, however, there is reason to believe that *an-ut* has been lost, since the *Wotiak* for *third* is *kūin'-mat*.

and Phenician. The Fin affinities have been noticed incidentally. The Basque has been most especially neglected, not so much, however, because it was unknown, but because it was supposed to stand in contrast, rather than in contact, with any ordinary form of speech. Even the Goidelic languages have been introduced as something requiring more extraordinary evidence, so decided has been the tendency to oppose rather than reconcile the two leading populations of Western Europe. The Latin aspect only has been fairly studied, and here how little has been done in an immensely promising field!

There is no error without its explanation. The preternaturalness of the Fin and Basque comparisons is easily accounted for. According to the ordinary views of the so-called Indo-European group, they belonged to a wholly different division, in which case everything within the Indo-European pale was to be exhausted before either of the languages in question was resorted to. What, however, if the Keltic were an outlying member of the class, and the Basque and Fin were the tongues through which it came in contact with the languages of the rest of the world. In such a case they would be much more better understood by the *archæologist* than the philologist, a relation which the diagrams of the zoologist and botanist may conveniently be made to illustrate—the relation of an *osculant* group.

Such is, most probably, the case. If not, if the Fin and Basque be not the nearest approaches to the Keltic, after the languages of the German, Sarmatian, and classical stocks, there has been displacement and intrusion, and one of the three languages is not *in situ*. The original *situs*, however, being ascertained, either the philological affinities will be those suggested by the geographical relations, or a phenomenon of extreme rarity will be presented. This is what common sense tells us to expect. This is what the wide and careful induction from the distribution of existing languages confirms.

